

Hebrew Lexical Semantics and Daily Life in Ancient Israel

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Hebrew Lexical Semantics and Daily Life in Ancient Israel

What's Cooking in Biblical Hebrew?

By

Kurtis Peters



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Terms, Sigla, and Abbreviations

Glossary

Israel	A <i>political</i> or <i>ethnic</i> term, denoting either the people group of ancient Israel, or the political entity of either unified Israel or the northern kingdom Israel.
Judah	A <i>political</i> term, or secondarily a <i>geographical</i> region covered by the political entity by the same name.
Palestine	A <i>geographical</i> term, denoting the southern Levant—usually given as ‘ancient Palestine’.
Syria-Palestine	A <i>geographical</i> term, denoting the whole of the Levant.
Encyclopaedic Knowledge	The total knowledge that a language user has about his/her world.
Domain/Cognitive Domain	The vast body of extra-linguistic information that informs the meaning of a concept. (e.g. geology could stand as the domain for [ISLAND])
Profile	The actual entity being denoted within a concept. (i.e. [ISLAND] denotes a dry land-mass)
Base	The <i>inherent</i> information required in order to understand a concept. (i.e. [SURROUNDED BY WATER] is the base for [ISLAND])
Trajector	The entity/entities performing/undergoing/etc. the conceptual content associated with a verb. Usually aligns with the grammatical subject.
Landmark	The entity/entities receiving the conceptual action, or otherwise being involved in the conceptual valency of a verb. Usually aligns with grammatical direct or indirect objects.

Sigla

‘x’	a word or lexeme, given within single quotes
[x]	a concept, given in upper case letters within square brackets. This may include both profiles and bases. The standard convention is to use upper case, but small font size.
Tr	Trajector
lm	landmark

Abbreviations

AASOR	The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
ANE	Ancient Near East
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BDB	Brown, Driver, and Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament: With an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic</i>
BH	Biblical Hebrew
DCH	<i>The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i>
ESV	English Standard Version
HALOT	<i>Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>
HS	<i>Hebrew Studies</i>
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JNSL	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>
JPS	Jewish Publication Society
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
KB	Köhler and Baumgartner. <i>Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament</i>
KUSATU	<i>Kleine Untersuchungen zur Sprache des Alten Testaments und seiner Umwelt</i>
LXX	Septuagint
NEA	<i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i>
NIV	New International Version
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
SDBH	Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew
s.v.	sub verbo
TDNT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
TWNT	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZAH	<i>Zeitschrift für Althebraistik</i>

Introduction

1 Groundwork

The subtitle of this book, *What's Cooking in Biblical Hebrew?*, comes in the form of an odd question. One is left asking 'is this a cookbook? Will it provide all the recipes for the biblical diet?' But upon closer inspecting, this cannot be right. Biblical Hebrew is neither a place nor a time, but a language. With some more head scratching, one might conclude that it is a linguistic study, albeit an odd one. If it is a linguistic study, why is it not 'what's "cooking" in Biblical Hebrew?', which appears to isolate 'cooking' as a term to be studied? On the other hand, one might think it is a question of what is *happening* in Biblical Hebrew or the study of it, following a popular English idiom—'What's cooking?'. But this too seems an ill fit, given the main title, 'Hebrew Lexical Semantics and Daily Life in Ancient Israel'. To mention semantics brings us back to the study of meaning in language, often the study of word meaning. Is this title therefore nonsensical, studying semantics without studying words? Before spiralling further into questioning the meaning of a statement about meaning allow me suggest that something else is afoot here. Not only is this a semantic study, a study of meaning, but it explores the way we create, arrive at, and talk about meaning. It is a manifestly different approach than seen in traditional semantic studies in Biblical Hebrew.

Before explaining exactly what this study is, however, a broader picture would be useful; a figure needs a ground, as it were. Two independent subject areas find themselves here in this work: Hebrew lexical semantics and the study of daily life in ancient Palestine, particularly related to cooking. Cooking and food are becoming ever more present in the public consciousness in the twenty-first century. Climate change, crop failures, and capricious market prices are causing devastation all around our globe. Major industry responds with genetically-modified food as the cure-all. Only with GMO's, they tell us, can we feed the world's population in the coming generations—too many mouths to feed, too little land on which to farm traditionally. But this freight train has not gone unchallenged. Groups all over the world are resisting GMO's, mono-culture farming, and, in short, the commodification of our food and livelihood. 'Traditional' was good for us and good for the planet. And so, first came the organic wave, cutting out harmful chemicals from the food production process. But as of late, the organic label has been watered down, and major factory farms wear the label but keep up their resource-heavy production styles, with but a few chemicals removed. Naturally, in the pursuit of sustainability,

many have moved beyond the label. They have committed to growing food and raising animals in a way that is maximally beneficial to the consumer, the soil under their feet, and their own livelihood—prioritizing biodiversity, not bee colonies collapsing; nutrient-rich food, not e-coli; healthy communities, not type two diabetes.

In the midst of all this food consciousness has come the renewed interest in the traditional, the food ways of the past. What can they teach us? There is a great deal to be learned from traditional ways of life, and it was in many ways much more sustainable than our industrialized world we live in today, though certainly not without exception.¹ And so we arrive at today, where people are greatly interested in the food of the Bible. What did people eat and how did they make it? Among the many publications on the matter, two dedicated scholarly works were penned by Nathan MacDonald—*What Did the Ancient Israelite's Eat?: Diet in Biblical Times*—and Cynthia Shafer-Elliott—*Food in Ancient Judah: Domestic Cooking in the Time of the Hebrew Bible*.² Both of these will be discussed more extensively in the literature review, but a few comments will suffice here. MacDonald spends the majority of his time presenting a simple description of the types of crops the Israelites kept and the food they ate. He does this in order to stem the tide of popular-level publications appealing to the ‘biblical diet’, the food that biblical people ate, as some ideal diet for all people at all times. Considering this to be nonsense, MacDonald dismisses it and instead provides a reasoned and rational alternative, using biblical texts critically and archaeological evidence judiciously. Shafer-Elliott, for her part, is mostly concerned with how people prepared their food, especially in the Iron Age period—what kinds of tools, ovens, pots and pans did the ancients use? What kinds of food could be prepared with these things, and what did that entail? Hers is a helpful study, bringing actual archaeological data to bear on the study of food preparation in ancient Palestine.

At the same time as with food there has been an increased interest in daily life in general. In generations past and present, archaeological research in Israel-Palestine brushed the small people aside and sought rather the

-
- 1 Some have, in nostalgic ignorance, assumed that everything from the past was environmentally sustainable, but even a quick look at ancient Palestine will tell us that is not the case, what with extensive deforestation, heaps of refuse and poor sanitation plaguing the urban areas. Perhaps the people of the rural regions exhibited a greater harmony with the land, but we ought not to be too optimistic.
 - 2 Nathan MacDonald, *What Did the Ancient Israelites Eat?: Diet in Biblical Times* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008); Cynthia Shafer-Elliott, *Food in Ancient Judah: Domestic Cooking in the Time of the Hebrew Bible* (Sheffield: Equinox, 2012).

grandiose, the royal, and the monumental—something that would corroborate or deny what we know from the biblical text. But in the last half century, scholars have begun to realize that we have before us only half of the picture. The ancient world belonged not only to the powerful, who made up a very small portion of the population, but also to the weak, to the average people. It is possible that these average people have much to offer us. For many, this offering is a humanistic one. That is, it tells us how people have lived in the past and that is good enough on its own merit. Others, however, have asked how this information can illuminate our reading of the Hebrew Bible. Moving in this direction was Lawrence Stager's seminal article, 'The Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel'.³ While there was not a great deal of exegesis in this article, Stager did begin to comment particularly on the biblical בֵּית-אָב and its correspondence to the archaeological record. Since then, an entire new area of study has opened up—household archaeology. Instead of digging through a *tell*, looking vertically at diachronic layers of remains, household archaeology looks horizontally at the distribution of rooms, equipment, ovens, etc. Their question is not about chronological development, but about how people lived. Granted, this remains but a corner of archaeological excavation, but it is growing.⁴ Its methods and results have become essential for any study of daily life among ancient Israelites.

However, while studies of food and daily life have been burgeoning, lexical semantics in Biblical Hebrew has not seen quite the same intensity of interest. This is not to say that it has been dead or moribund, but it has plodded along in its own way. The golden era can be traced back to the time of James Barr in the 1960s and 70s. His *The Semantics of Biblical Language* changed the face of lexical studies applied to the Bible.⁵ There was to be no more flights of lexical-theological fancy. Instead, good, well-grounded structuralist semantics won the day. According to such a view, it was well-near impossible and rather irresponsible to draw connections between biblical words and the thoughts of ancient peoples. Since this turning point, not a great deal has changed. Scholars still fear to contradict Barr. Certainly, these structuralist principles have been applied extensively and even adapted to certain other methods,

3 Lawrence E. Stager, 'The Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 260 (1985): 1–35.

4 For recent examples, see the following two monographs: James Walker Hardin, *Lahav II: Households and the Use of Domestic Space at Iron II Tell Halif: An Archaeology of Destruction* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2010); Assaf Yasur-Landau, Jennie R. Ebeling, and Laura B. Mazow, *Household Archaeology in Ancient Israel and Beyond* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

5 James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961).

such as componential analysis, but the underlying theory has not changed much. That is, in biblical studies semantics has not changed much. In the wider world of linguistics, however, mountains have been moved.

Structuralist linguistics had its advent in the first few decades of the twentieth century, on the heels of the work of Ferdinand de Saussure. As suggested by the name, this type of linguistic inquiry focused primarily on the structure of a language system itself, and it did so synchronically. In semantics no longer was etymology relevant to the meaning of words. Their meaning was in their use at a given time. This constituted the theoretical underpinning of many lexical studies in the middle of the twentieth century. But structuralism began to lose its grip, at least insofar as it was the dominant method, in the second half of the century. Among other competitors, including Chomsky's Generative Grammar, Cognitive Linguistics arrived on the scene. Primarily arising out of the 1970s and 80s, Cognitive Linguistics represented a new trend where people looked at the connection between the mind and language. For semantics, this meant that meaning was located in the mind of the language user and not in the structure of the language being used. By no means a uniform method, Cognitive Linguistics took a variety of shapes, all of them fairly complex. This complexity, I argue, is what has led to a widening chasm between linguistics and biblical studies. Biblical scholars have little ability (and even less time) to engage with the intricacies of every new method proposed, each with its own terminology and principles. Therefore, lexical studies in biblical scholarship employ older, perhaps outdated, methodology. They do not account, as Cognitive Linguistics would have them do, for meaning being located in the mind of the user.⁶

Is there any way to repair this broken relationship between biblical studies and linguistics? What one needs is a simplified, yet responsible method that can account for meaning in the mind. Such a method can, perhaps, be drawn from the work of linguist Ronald Langacker who pioneered Cognitive Grammar, an approach leaning heavily on the Gestalt theory of figure and grounding.⁷ In order to understand something, whatever it may be, one must know its context. Cognitive Grammar suggests a way of getting at that context,

6 There are, of course, a few notable exceptions, which will be covered more thoroughly in the literature review.

7 Ronald W. Langacker, *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar: Theoretical Prerequisites*, vol. 1 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987); Ronald W. Langacker, *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar: Descriptive Application*, vol. 2 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991); Perhaps most straightforwardly explained by John R. Taylor, *Cognitive Grammar* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

and it happens to be a way that can be applied to the language of the Hebrew Bible. The words of the biblical text can be associated with concepts lying behind them, which in turn tells us more about the words and their texts.

This brings us back to consider the subtitle of the book. If I were to ask what ‘cooking’ meant, then I would be asking what a particular word meant in the biblical text. This would furthermore assume that a word, such as ‘cooking’, contained meaning in and of itself. However, as the subtitle stands, I am asking rather what cooking means—the general idea of cooking. How did ancient Hebrew speakers conceive of cooking and how does that interact with the words in our Hebrew Bible? Moreover, it allows me to look not only at one word, but any word that conveys cooking as such. It is, in a way, similar to studying semantic fields, as done in closer accord with structuralist linguistics, but in this case the connections are conceptual and not structural. How this works will become more apparent in the relevant sections of the book.

Why cooking, though? There are two basic reasons for this. The first is simply because it is an aspect of daily life, as the title suggests. The study of daily life is interesting, growing, and this is my participation in it. The second reason is more substantial. Cooking language affords us more of a direct connection to the ancient world than would purity-language, for example. In cooking, there are pots, pans, ovens, food remains, and other things that can be dug up and analysed with relative confidence. Purity is much harder to dig up out of the ground. Therefore, we can begin to piece together a part of the thought-world of ancient language users when we can reconstruct their daily habits, the food they ate, and the equipment they used to prepare it. Also, food preparation and food technology did not change to the same degree that theological implications of purity may have done, and therefore cooking exhibits greater stability in the language. Because of this we can be more confident about using a wide variety of texts in our study. This is not to draw a dividing line between some parts of a language that are suitable for this kind of study and others that are not. This is simply to say that cooking is a good starting place.

It is therefore with all this in mind, the drawing together of daily life with the language of the Hebrew Bible that this study explores the meaning of cooking in Biblical Hebrew.

2 Structure of the Book

The first chapter of this book aims to explain the development of the different disciplines mentioned already here in the introduction. Because the macro

question of this study is a linguistic one, the review of literature begins with arguably the most influential monograph in biblical lexical semantics, Barr's *The Semantics of Biblical Language*, as discussed above. This brought about a complete shift in the way scholars approached the meanings of words in biblical scholarship. Almost immediately, etymology and word history saw a significantly reduced portion of the semantic pie. Of course, etymology could be useful in certain applications, but it could no longer be considered determinative for meaning. Following Barr were many like-minded scholars, including friends and students such as Moisés Silva and John Sawyer. The discipline then continued to adapt and find new expressions, but they kept returning to the text as the source of meaning. Words had meanings and those meanings were in the text.

Lexicographical works, though they have a different aim than semantic studies, nevertheless overlap. Users of a lexicon often turn there to discover the meaning of a word, and, whether the lexicon provides a gloss or a definition, it still contributes to the user's perception of meaning. Some of these lexica work with a mixture of older diachronic/etymological foundations and more modern structuralist ones. Some are very open about which method they prefer, which will be seen in the discussion of Clines' *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*.

But there are rumblings, however, of discontent with the reign of structuralism in Biblical Hebrew studies. Some, like Ellen van Wolde, Stephen Shead, and Reinier de Blois, are trying to make cognitive inroads into structuralist terrain. The success thus far has been limited and the reasons for this will be guessed at in the first chapter.

Arriving at cognitive studies, studies that allow a connection between language and world, the literature review will then take a sharp turn to consider the advent and explosion of scholarship regarding the daily life of average ancient Israelites. Lawrence Stager's article mentioned above will occupy the foremost place, being what spawned much of the interest in this corner of archaeology. From that moment, the review will trace the development of this field according to its different yet relevant applications, such as architecture of the home, the life of women in ancient Israel, etc. There will be a marked trend of those who reject the archaeological preference for grandeur, and who instead appreciate the small things and the small people. In this pursuit, these scholars will use information dug up in excavations in modern Israel-Palestine. They will also draw on comparative ethnographic data from excavations around the Middle East and experimental archaeology, where scholars attempt to recreate living patterns and daily habits of ancient peoples. Each of these scholars and their works reviewed here will be analysed both on their

own merits and on their contribution to the knowledge of daily life and cooking in ancient Palestine.

The second chapter, naturally, will set out the methodology to be used throughout the remainder of the book. The chapter will begin by looking at previous lexical semantic methods in more depth than possible in the literature review. The overall aim will be to justify a cognitive approach as opposed to a strictly structuralist one. Barr's contributions were invaluable, and were accurate for the time in which he wrote. But we cannot rely on this any longer. Linguistics as a discipline has advanced a great deal and biblical scholarship would be remiss not to take notice and develop accordingly. That is not to say that biblical scholars need to be up to date on the latest trends, since sometimes those trends are rejected after only a few years. There are some advantages to being a few years behind, in order to see what is bound to last and what is bound to be tossed. However, one must be careful not to fall too far behind.⁸ Syntagmatic and paradigmatic collocations cannot substitute for meaning, however helpful they may be. It is true that etymology is not determinative for meaning, but neither is a language's structure. Moreover, meaning is not to be found in a word's component structure, as has been shown in the many rebuttals of componential analysis and its proponents.

Instead, a cognitive approach is a must, if we are actually to account for meaning.⁹ Therefore, in this chapter I will review several of the attempts in biblical scholarship to make forays into cognitive study and their success or lack thereof in implementing that into biblical studies. Each of these will have great redeeming value and should in no way be dismissed, but they each have their drawbacks. The most significant benefit from these works, however, has been Ellen van Wolde's use of Cognitive Grammar in her work. This Cognitive Grammar, as mentioned, came from the work of linguist Ronald Langacker and has been developed over the past few decades as a comprehensive theory of language. Of course, this study does not pretend to discuss language as a whole, but rather a small portion of lexical semantics. Therefore,

8 This of course is not to say that all biblical semantics is decades behind the linguistic times. Rather, it is a broad brush stroke, where biblical studies tends toward older, somewhat outdated linguistic theory.

9 This is undoubtedly a strong claim, but one that I will reinforce particularly in the methodology chapter. For now, it is only important to say that non-cognitive approaches can still be useful in the quest for meaning, but mostly as tools to demonstrate features of a language. Because meaning is in the mind of the language user, it will take a cognitive approach to gather up all relevant data and present it faithfully.

I will suggest a way to adapt the principles of Cognitive Grammar to Biblical Hebrew. This will be accomplished by using Langacker's profile-base-domain relations, which is a sophisticated yet simple way to account for figure and grounding in the way humans conceptualize words. Van Wolde, for her part, uses this feature, at times to great benefit, but loses her readers in unnecessary detail and, at times, confusing explanations.

Once this method has been established, the chapter will conclude with a section detailing the exact layout and approach to the study of cooking lexemes in Biblical Hebrew. As it will be a cognitive study, the emphasis will be on concepts rather than on the words themselves.

The third chapter sets out to explain the lived backgrounds of the home and cooking in ancient Palestine. As with a cognitive method like Cognitive Grammar that explores the figure and ground of a language, it is necessary for this study to look at the world behind the language of Biblical Hebrew. This background is what constitutes part of the encyclopaedic knowledge of the world on which Cognitive Grammar depends. One must know how people cooked, who cooked, what they cooked, and so on, in order to understand what they meant when they talked about cooking. Furthermore, because any instance of a cooking word, such as 'boil', might conjure up any connection with the activity of boiling (what kind of pottery is used, how the steam affects the climate of the home, etc.), we must be as exhaustive as possible, while still being reasonably constrained by the limits of a monograph. For this purpose, the chapter will be arranged into the following five categories: physical context for cooking activities, identity and description of actors, description of food items, identity and description of material culture, and cooking processes. Each of these categories is subdivided into further groupings, all aimed at providing a fairly comprehensive picture of what the world of cooking looked like for an ancient Israelite. Again, there is no knowing which detail will be relevant for a given use of a word, and so each section will be described on its own merit. It is not the purpose of this chapter to draw conclusions about word meanings, but rather the opposite. This is the bed of knowledge from which language users may draw whatever suits their linguistic purpose.

Following quickly on from the backgrounds chapter is the heart of the book, the analysis of lexemes and concepts. This fourth chapter is where, lexeme by lexeme, the meaning of cooking will be drawn out. Each lexeme will be evaluated according to the methodology set out in chapter two. The profile-base-domain relations will be explored extensively. What does the concept actually point to? What forms the necessary and inherent background to that concept? What is the general bed of real-world knowledge needed to understand that

word? At a more minute level of analysis, the relationship between trajectors and landmarks, explained in chapter two, will be diagrammed here accordingly.

Under each concept will also be displayed the relevant biblical texts where this concept is used. At times the placement will be obvious. But, as would be no surprise, there are many cases where the placement is less than straightforward. Where it is less clear, there will be a brief argument drawing on any relevant information helpful for identifying the concept. This information may be exegetical, archaeological, linguistic or something else. Nevertheless, each problematic occurrence will be addressed in this chapter, with two exceptions that are too tangled for just a brief analysis. Their justification will be left for the exegetical contributions chapter.

Because this study draws on so many different areas of research, and does so in chapters of very different character, there is a short fifth chapter devoted to regaining the plot, seeing how far we have come by that point and seeing where we yet need to go. In this chapter there is a sense of summary, of gathering up the data in the previous chapters. The most significant contribution here is grouping the concepts analysed not according to the lexemes, but according to their conceptual value. That is, they will be grouped by the degree of schematicity (specific-generic), by whether they focus on the beginning or end of an action, and by what kinds of food they refer to. The chapter will then take this knowledge and apply it to what was learned in the lived backgrounds chapter. When the ancient Israelites would cook with dry heat, for example, what kinds of concepts would they use to describe that, and consequently, which lexemes would they use to convey those concepts? This section draws a thread from world to concept to lexeme, in a way that would not be possible or responsible according to other linguistic methods. Finally, this transition chapter will point out what is left undone, the exegesis of biblical texts.

The final full chapter takes up the challenge of providing exegetical insights into biblical texts in a new way that is informative and useful for biblical scholarship. This is the broadest payoff of such a linguistic study. While the linguistic benefit could stand on its own, this chapter is meant as a way to connect back to general biblical studies. Here we will range from relatively clear passages, such as when Abraham and Sarah welcome the three visitors in Genesis 18, to the rather opaque. Among the most opaque and therefore the most troublesome passages are the cooking of the Passover texts (Exodus 12:8–9, Deuteronomy 16:7, and 2 Chronicles 35:13), where there seems to be some significant discord. While Exodus prescribes roasting and prohibits boiling, Deuteronomy appears to prescribe boiling. 2 Chronicles occupies a strange middle ground and appears to suggest ‘boiling in fire’, though there

is no real scholarly consensus as to what this means. The other problematic text is 2 Samuel 13, the rape of Tamar by her half-brother Amnon. Here is a set of four repetitions of one cooking event, each with different terminology. Furthermore, Tamar is said to make some food (what food we do not really know) from dough, and then she cooks it. But commentators and translators cannot agree as to what she is doing, whether the lexeme **בָּשַׁל** is being used to convey boiling, baking, frying, or simply cooking. This chapter sets out to solve such problems and more. In so doing it will hopefully provide a broader justification for a linguistic study such as this.

Following the sixth and final chapter will be a short conclusion, pulling all things together in as clear and succinct a manner as possible. Here the reader will be able to see the thread that finds its way through each of the varied chapters in the book.

There are two final housekeeping notes before venturing into the first chapter. First is the matter of translating biblical quotations into English. Translations are inevitably problematic in a linguistic study. The focus is meant to be on the Hebrew text itself and how the words within it work with and relate to one another. Translations, however, are not superfluous. Not only do they assist the non-Hebraist, but they also serve to demonstrate a particular reading or interpretation of a text, given the maxim that all translations are interpretations. The inevitable drawback of translating is that it indeed represents one particular reading, rather than allowing for multiplicity of meaning or ambiguity in the text, for example. As a translator, one is tethered to that one reading. This need not always be a negative consequence, but in a language-based study, it remains a hindrance. It could, however, be beneficial to employ a translation that is well-known and widely accepted in the scholarly world, such as the NRSV. The benefit of using the NRSV is that it would readily allow for open dialogue between the argument of the present work and that of wider scholarship. This, too, has its problems, as it would be odd to give pride of place, especially in lengthy quotations, to a translation with which the present work may not agree. In order to navigate this problem with the least detriment to the arguments made throughout this study, all translations will be from the NRSV unless otherwise stated. However, square brackets within the text with alternative translation options will be used to signal differences between the NRSV and the argument that is to follow.

The second housekeeping point is perhaps an obvious one, but nevertheless important. There is no misconception here that this study is 'the answer' for all problems semantic in biblical studies. The hope here is to contribute what I can, to help things to progress. Though criticism will be directed toward Saussure and structuralism, toward Barr's method now outdated, and many

others, there is nevertheless full recognition that scholarship would be the worse for not having had them. Again, this study is but a small offering. But a wise person once said, 'Many are the strange chances of the world and help oft shall come from the hands of the weak, when the wise falter'.¹⁰ In such words I find great comfort.

10 Mithrandir in J. R. R. Tolkien, *The Silmarillion*, ed. Christopher Tolkien (London: HarperCollins, 1999), 301.

Literature Review

1 Review of Literature Pertaining to Biblical Hebrew Semantics

1.1 *The Challenge of Assumptions and the Adoption of Linguistics*

1961 saw the publication of James Barr's *The Semantics of Biblical Language* and, therefore, witnessed the about-face of much of Biblical Hebrew (BH) scholarship's approach to words.¹ This was the first significant publication regarding Hebrew, as well as Koine Greek, that sought to incorporate lessons from general linguistics, particularly semantics. In drawing upon linguistic semantics, Barr set a trend for future scholars where at least some degree of familiarity with linguistics was demanded of any serious research into Hebrew words. By way of a chain reaction, those producing lexical works were scrutinized with the self-same logic, and so scholarship saw new editions of lexica or entirely new lexica/dictionaries being produced to keep in step with these advances. This, then, is the pattern that has continued to this day: a lesson is learned from linguistic semantics; there is a response in Hebrew semantic theory; and then the lexicographers and other students of the language are left to incorporate the new theory into their work. Biblical scholars may be years or decades behind the linguistic trends, but they nevertheless seem to follow along at some point down the road.

For Barr, integrating linguistics into biblical studies meant an overhaul of all previous thinking about BH semantics. He saw the prevailing method within word-based investigations as problematic in many ways, two of which figure prominently in the post-1961 world of Hebrew semantics. One is what Barr calls the 'root fallacy'—a belief that a triliteral root contains meaning on its own, and imposes that meaning on any actual word using that root.² Barr sees this as nonsense, for, he argues, word meaning must be dealt with by semantics upon the basis of actual usage.³ That is, a word's use is the word's meaning; it does

1 Barr, *Semantics*; An exhaustive review of all the post-1961 literature on Hebrew semantics will not be provided here. For a good summary see Susan Anne Groom, *Linguistic Analysis of Biblical Hebrew* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2003), 103–130.

2 Barr, *Semantics*, 100ff.

3 Ibid., 159; This concept of usage-based meaning was also floating about in general semantics, most notably put forward in Stephen Ullmann, *Semantics: An Introduction to the Science of Meaning* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1962).

not derive from a theoretical root meaning. Barr's second lasting critique was directed at those who employ historical etymology to determine word meanings. While the etymological history of words does have its place, admits Barr,

it is only as a historical statement that it can be responsibly asserted, and it is quite wrong to suppose that the etymology of a word is necessarily a guide either to its 'proper' meaning in a later period or to its actual meaning in that period.⁴

In a sense, Barr was incorporating the structuralist linguistics of Ferdinand de Saussure, who jettisoned a historical diachronic approach to word meaning in favour of a synchronic approach.⁵

There was also a third major criticism in Barr's *Semantics*, which, though considered very convincing, was not to be picked up and taken further in subsequent Hebrew semantics publications. This criticism was directed at Kittel and the *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* for its inability to disassociate concepts and words.⁶ Kittel, and to some extent his successors, used Greek lexemes and their linguistic functions to describe the conceptual world of the New Testament authors. For Barr this was illegitimate, and he was justified in thinking so because structuralism, the prevailing linguistic model of his day, holds to a strict separation between linguistic and extra-linguistic factors, such as concepts. One cannot fill the slot of the other.

Structuralism maintains that the meaning of a linguistic form is determined by its place in the language system. The world and how people interact with it, how they perceive and conceptualize it, are extra-linguistic factors which do not impinge on the language system itself.⁷

This view of Barr's, that blending concepts and lexemes is linguistically inappropriate, was to be challenged, or at least nuanced, much later. At the time, it

4 Barr, *Semantics*, 109.

5 Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*, ed. Charles Bally, Charles Albert Sechehaye, and Albert Riedlinger, trans. Wade Baskin (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), 81ff.

6 Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich, eds., *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, 10 vols. (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1979). Barr, in 1961, was working only with the first six volumes of the German edition. None had as yet been translated into English. This work was translated into English from 1964 to 1976 as Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich, eds., *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, trans. Geoffrey William Bromiley, 10 vols. (Grand Rapids; London: Eerdmans, 1976).

7 Groom, *Linguistic Analysis*, 106.

was instead Barr's critiques of the 'root-fallacy' and of improper use of etymology that were picked up most earnestly by those who followed soon after him.⁸ The two most recognizable authors following in Barr's wake were John Sawyer and Moisés Silva.⁹ Both of these authors sought to establish Hebrew semantics on firm linguistic grounding. Sawyer did so by pushing theory a little farther than traditional structuralist semantics, which was primarily concerned with syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations, to include what he termed the 'associative field' of a lexeme. This associative field, simply stated, includes 'all the words associated in any way with a particular term . . . (for instance synonyms, opposites, terms that rhyme with it or look like it)'.¹⁰ Sawyer then used this principle of associative fields, along with the lessons of structural semantics, to describe Hebrew words for salvation. Sawyer's contribution, therefore, consisted both of advancing theory, and of producing an early monograph-length word study based upon linguistic principles.

Silva, on the other hand, was more concerned to bring the average biblical scholar or student to an understanding of lexical semantics. Despite the work of Barr, Sawyer and others, those familiar with biblical and Hebrew studies were still largely unfamiliar with the principles of semantics and linguistics more generally, and thus Silva filled an important role. However, given that Silva's intent was to clarify the principles of linguistics and not to put forth a new theory or to provide his own word study, it seems as though he did not propel scholarship forward to a great degree, but instead brought Barr's explosive arguments into the mainstream of BH semantics.

These three scholars, Barr, Sawyer, and Silva, marked a change in how scholars approached words in Biblical Hebrew. The result, in Hebrew language studies, is that 'etymology' has nearly become pejorative, and if one dares to utter

8 Barr himself followed quickly on with a variety of publications on Hebrew semantics. Some of his more influential were: James Barr, 'The Image of God in the Book of Genesis—A Study of Terminology', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 51 (1968): 11–26; James Barr, *Biblical Words for Time*, 2nd Revised, Studies in Biblical Theology: No. 33 (London: SCM Press, 1969); James Barr, 'Etymology and the Old Testament', in *Language and Meaning: Studies in Hebrew Language and Biblical Exegesis: Papers Read at the Joint British-Dutch OT Conference, London, 1973*, Oudtestamentische Studiën (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 1–28; For a more thorough account of scholarship's response to Barr, see Moisés Silva, *Biblical Words and Their Meaning: An Introduction to Lexical Semantics* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1983), 17–32.

9 John F. A. Sawyer, *Semantics in Biblical Research: New Methods of Defining Hebrew Words for Salvation*, Studies in Biblical Theology 24 (London: SCM Press, 1971); Silva, *Biblical Words*.

10 Sawyer, *Semantics*, 30.

‘root meaning’, one must be swift to curtail any notion that root meaning may be determinant for the meaning of derived forms. The lexica created or revised at this time reflected this shift to varying degrees, for the earlier lexica, primarily Gesenius-Buhl and Brown Driver Briggs (BDB), were held to be inadequate.¹¹ This was not necessarily because they contained incorrect information, but because they prioritized certain types of information over others: arranging entries by roots, even if those triradical roots never actually occurred in the text, and offering extensive cognate information and historical reconstructions at the beginning of many entries. Shortly after Barr’s *Semantics* was published, Köhler and Baumgartner’s third edition began publication and was arranged, contra the earlier Gesenius and BDB alternatives, by words rather than by roots.¹² As a consequence, one does not easily find hypothetical root meanings in its pages, other than possibly in discussions of rare words. However, cognate forms are given at the opening of each entry, as if to give prominence to etymological comparisons.

David Clines also began producing a new work of lexicography toward the end of this era, *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (DCH), the first volume of which appeared in 1993 after five years of considerable labour.¹³ This dictionary is founded, claims its author, on modern linguistics:

This theoretical base comes to expression primarily in the overriding concern in this dictionary for the *uses* of words in the language . . .; we subscribe to the dictum that the meaning of a word is its use in the language. The focus here, then, is not so much on the meanings, or the translation equivalents, of the individual words as on the patterns and combinations in which words are used. . . . Many other features of the dictionary, such as the priority given to the most commonly attested sense, the avoidance of historical reconstructions, of the evidence of cognate languages . . . likewise depend upon the commonly accepted principles of modern linguistic theory.¹⁴

11 Wilhelm Gesenius and Frants Buhl, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, 17th ed. (Leipzig: Vogel, 1921); Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament: With an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959).

12 Ludwig Köhler and Walter Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967).

13 David J. A. Clines, ed., *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew. Aleph*, vol. 1, 8 vols. (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993) The eighth and final volume was published in 2011.

14 *Ibid.*, 1:14f.

Clearly Clines has decided to meet the challenge of Barr *et al.* and produce a dictionary in keeping with those recent advances in linguistics: word use is word meaning; historical reconstruction based upon cognate languages is to be avoided, etc.¹⁵

All of the preceding works have operated, to varying degrees, under the umbrella of structuralist linguistics. Many of these works proposed their own tools for analysing words or lexemes, but one tool in particular deserves separate attention: componential analysis. The theory of componential analysis is that the meaning of each word is derived from its sense components (i.e. 'man' = [+human] [+male] [+adult]). These sense components are set off against other words in the same semantic field (i.e. alternatively 'woman' = [+human] [-male] [+adult]), and this is how meaning is determined. While componential analysis has its roots in structuralism, it has been adopted by Hebrew and Biblical Greek scholars alike as a guiding theory in its own right. Sawyer employed it, if only minimally, already in 1972, albeit with some reservation.¹⁶ Silva, too, mentions the benefits of the tool, but questions its validity in providing meaning for words.¹⁷ The debate on its validity continues, often engaging the foundational work of Eugene Nida, who rendered componential analysis legitimate for biblical semantics.¹⁸

Recent years have seen the balance tip to the view that componential analysis, at least in its traditional form, is an inadequate way to account for meaning. Its dependence on binary oppositions (a structuralist feature) and its emic dependence upon the thought process of the researcher are but two of the devastating criticisms levelled at componential analysis.¹⁹ However, there are some who argue for an adaptation of the tool, to release it from its structuralist bonds and employ it within newer theories of meaning, especially that of Cognitive Linguistics.²⁰

15 Unfortunately, there are some significant problems with *DCH*, including the only partial application of modern linguistics. For a perceptive review of the first volume see Takamitsu Muraoka, 'A New Dictionary of Classical Hebrew', *Abr-Nahrain*, Supplement Series, 4 (1995): 87–101. This review also provides a basic yet helpful chronology of modern lexicons/dictionaries of Biblical Hebrew; Clines offers his own review of lexicography in Clines, *DCH. Aleph*, 1:22–24.

16 Sawyer, *Semantics*, 58–59.

17 Silva, *Biblical Words*, 132–135.

18 Eugene Albert Nida, *Componential Analysis of Meaning: An Introduction to Semantic Structures*, Approaches to Semiotics 57 (The Hague: Mouton, 1975).

19 Groom, *Linguistic Analysis*, 106–112.

20 Gerrit J. van Steenberghe, 'Componential Analysis of Meaning and Cognitive Linguistics: Some Prospects for Biblical Hebrew Lexicology', *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 28, no. 1 (2002): 19–37, and no. 2 (2002): 109–26.

1.2 *The Rise of Cognitive Linguistics in Hebrew Semantics*

In more recent years, the vigour of structuralism and its ability to provide meaning in Hebrew semantics has been waning. It retains a degree of usefulness, to be sure, but it no longer commands the entire field of theoretical linguistics. Much of this is due to the rise of Cognitive Linguistics, a movement concerned with how language users conceive of meaning and use language to convey it. Instead of seeing meaning as purely part of the system, or structure, of a language (with its binary oppositions, paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations, etc.), it sees meaning as conceptual, located in the mind. Words, then, are merely vehicles for communicating meaning from one person's mind to another's. If that is the case, then the search for meaning must take us to the mind of the language user. What concepts lie behind the word/phrase/sentence choice in an utterance? What is needed for the recipient to decode the utterance? It seems that in order to comprehend an utterance, a recipient must at a minimum share a similar conception of the world and a similar conception of the immediate context with the one who uttered it. Colloquially, the two people must be on the same page.

To illustrate this, consider the utterance, 'he called his son'. In much of the world today, people would possibly first imagine a male, probably aged 40 or older, on a telephone, perhaps a mobile phone, speaking to his son who is too far away to speak to in person.²¹ In ancient Israel, however, people would have had a completely different image in mind. It is decidedly more likely to have imagined a male, probably aged 20 or older, calling or shouting to his son who is within earshot and who is roughly 20 years younger (or more) than the father.²² Therefore, in this case, it is the difference of worldview and knowledge of the world that would conjure very different possibilities of meaning for the exact same utterance. Slightly different would be to say something like 'he boiled water'. Many people today would picture a man standing in a modern kitchen with a pot of water on the electric or gas stove and perhaps ready to put pasta into the pot or a man having put the kettle on for some tea. In ancient

21 This is obviously not the only possibility, but it is likely the first image of which many people today would conceive.

22 This is presuming that men were married in their late teenage years or early twenties, and that they produced children very soon. Interestingly, one would imagine that if it were a father or mother calling a daughter, then an ancient Israelite would likely imagine a daughter at a maximum age of 16 or so, because daughters were likely married off into other households soon after puberty and no longer lived with their birth parents. For more, see Jennie R. Ebeling, *Women's Lives in Biblical Times* (London; New York: T & T Clark, 2010), 81–82; Joseph Blenkinsopp, 'The Family in First Temple Israel', in *Families in Ancient Israel*, ed. Leo G. Perdue, *The Family, Religion, and Culture* (Louisville; London: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 77.

Israel, one would imagine that this utterance could be confusing. Why is a *man* boiling water? And obviously the picture would not be of a modern kitchen, but usually boiling was done in the house over a fire or oven, and done so by women. But, given that it is a man in this case, then maybe he is to be understood as being out in the field or the wilderness somewhere, where there is no woman to do that work for him. And the purpose of the boiling would likely be different. Perhaps it is merely to sanitize the water, as many people the world over do to this day. Whatever the case, the two images, that of today and that of ancient Israel are entirely different.

All these peculiarities serve to illustrate the problem of seeing meaning only as a part of the language system. The quest for meaning must take the conceptual world of the language users into account. It is the strength of the Cognitive Linguistics enterprise that it is able to address this very problem. However, Hebrew scholarship, for its part, has found it quite difficult to absorb such a change, and for good reason: how could we know the conceptual world of people from more than two millennia ago? We have no speakers to interview and the language has been dead for many centuries. As a result, the majority of Hebrew scholarship looks askance at those importing principles of cognition into the field.

Despite the mixed reception, some Hebrew scholars have pressed on, recognizing that if meaning is indeed conceptual, then we must either find a way to account for that, or else stop talking about meaning. Christo Van der Merwe, at the University of Stellenbosch, may have done the most to promote and use the advances of cognitive linguistics in Hebrew studies. His contribution can be seen in three areas: he has published fairly extensively on the meanings of various Hebrew particles, incorporating insights from Cognitive Linguistics;²³ he has supervised several recent dissertations, which apply Cognitive Linguistics to semantics and to lexicography;²⁴ and he has himself

23 Cynthia L. Miller-Naudé and C. H. J. Van der Merwe, 'הַיָּה and Mirativity in Biblical Hebrew', *Hebrew Studies* 52 (2011): 53–81; C. H. J. Van der Merwe, 'Another Look at the Biblical Hebrew Focus Particle הַיָּה', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 54, no. 2 (2009): 313–32; C. H. J. Van der Merwe, 'The Biblical Hebrew Particle 'ap', *Vetus Testamentum* 59, no. 2 (April 2009): 266–83; C. H. J. Van der Merwe, 'A Cognitive Linguistic Perspective on הַיָּה in the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and Ruth', *Hebrew Studies* 48 (2007): 101–40.

24 Tiana Bosman, 'Biblical Hebrew Lexicology and Cognitive Semantics: A Study of Lexemes of Affection' (PhD Diss., University of Stellenbosch, 2011); Kristopher Aaron Lyle, 'A Cognitive Semantic Assessment of הַיָּה and הַיָּה's Semantic Potential' (MA Thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 2012); Taurai Imbayarwo, 'A Biblical Hebrew Lexicon for Translators Based on Recent Developments in Theoretical Lexicography' (DLitt diss., University of Stellenbosch, 2008).

engaged some of the recent Hebrew dictionary projects, particularly *DCH* and *The Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew (SDBH)*.²⁵ The sum of this is that Van der Merwe has effectively forced Cognitive Linguistics into the discussion. He has accomplished this not necessarily by proposing new theories of his own, but by pointing to the work of others.

The person to whom Van der Merwe and his students often point in their publications is Reinier de Blois. De Blois is the main scholar working on *SDBH*, and has published a number of articles presenting his theory. The idea behind the project, conducted by the United Bible Society, was originally to create for Biblical Hebrew what Louw and Nida did for Biblical Greek in creating a dictionary based on semantic domains.²⁶ But, for de Blois, the theory behind the Greek lexicon needed revision, especially by incorporating the principles of Cognitive Linguistics. Louw and Nida's dictionary relied heavily on componential analysis, something which de Blois felt is no longer tenable.²⁷ He also decided that the semantic categories used by them needed an overhaul, and in recreating these categories he used insights from prototype theory, cognitive metaphor theory, and the like. These are all very positive moves for biblical semantics. The problem, however, becomes apparent when one opens an entry of this new dictionary and tries to use it. It is incredibly complicated and the logic to the entries seems scrambled, at best. De Blois may have produced something very faithful to the semantics of Biblical Hebrew, but who will find it helpful? It seems as though there is little chance that this will be a tool used by many in Biblical Studies. It is both far too complicated and much too esoteric.

Nevertheless, this incorporation of Cognitive Linguistics into Biblical Hebrew is slowly moving beyond journal articles and theses to find light as monograph-length works, as demonstrated by Stephen Shead *Radical Frame Semantics and Biblical Hebrew*. Perhaps the most significant contribution of Shead is his insistence that meaning is conceptual. That is, words and sentences do not contain

25 'Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew', accessed 8 October 2011, <<http://www.sdbh.org/>>; C. H. J. Van der Merwe, 'Towards a Principled Working Model for Biblical Hebrew Lexicology', *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 30, no. 1 (2004): 119–37; C. H. J. Van der Merwe, 'Biblical Hebrew Lexicology: A Cognitive Linguistic Perspective', *Kleine Untersuchungen zur Sprache des Alten Testaments und seiner Umwelt* 6 (2006): 87–112; C. H. J. Van der Merwe, 'Some Recent Trends in Biblical Hebrew Linguistics: A Few Pointers Towards a More Comprehensive Model of Language Use', *Hebrew Studies* 44 (January 2003): 7–24.

26 J. P. Louw and Eugene Albert Nida, eds., *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (New York: United Bible Societies, 1989).

27 Reinier de Blois, 'Lexicography and Cognitive Linguistics: Hebrew Metaphors from a Cognitive Perspective', *DavarLogos* 3, no. 2 (2004): 98.

meaning in themselves, nor do they connect directly to external self-sufficient entities, contra structuralism's claims, but they instead denote mental images and experiences.²⁸ Meaning resides in the mind; words and sentences access those mental concepts. Or, more simply, 'meanings are concepts'.²⁹ If this is true, suggests Shead, then Biblical Hebrew semantics must adapt itself accordingly, despite the difficulties of it being a dead and ancient language for which there are no available native speakers. To do otherwise, and therefore to disregard the connection between meaning and conceptualization, would be methodologically deficient and would therefore be of little use to scholarship.³⁰

The advantage of this methodology over traditional Hebrew lexicography is that it includes more than merely the syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations of a lexeme. A traditional lexicon, by comparison, does not have the tools that are required to make the kind of distinction offered above. That is, traditional, structuralist approaches make conclusions that are bound to the study of relations of words within a given language system. Unfortunately, however, they are unable to account for how a language user conceives of meaning in his or her mind.

One may easily contend, though, that when we come to Biblical Hebrew we have a corpus-bound ancient language, and that there is no way of recovering native speakers let alone their conceptual framework. As noted above, Shead does not allow for this pessimism to dictate his practice, but says instead that, given that meaning is conceptual, we must find a way to account for the concepts behind a language or else we cannot hope to talk of meaning in that language.³¹ His solution involves a process very familiar to traditional Hebrew lexicography: read the text, form a hypothesis as to a word's meaning, then reread the text to test it, then keep repeating until a satisfactory answer is achieved. Shead simply adapts this to concepts. As one sees in Shead's work, this can actually produce meaningful results. Yet, we nevertheless are left longing for a more effective method by which to ascertain that conceptual framework of the original language users.³²

28 Stephen L. Shead, *Radical Frame Semantics and Biblical Hebrew: Exploring Lexical Semantics*, Biblical Interpretation Series (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 33.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid., 182.

31 Ibid.

32 In the following methodology chapter, I will discuss the merits of Shead's work further, as it pertains directly to the methodology used in this study.

Ellen van Wolde is the other major biblical scholar accounting for the conceptual nature of meaning.³³ Her 2009 contribution, *Reframing Biblical Studies: When Language and Text Meet Culture, Cognition, and Context*, is her attempt to redirect our energies to something more interdisciplinary. She argues passionately in her introduction that biblical studies ought to be patterned after the human mind. That is, we cannot divide scholarship into discrete subject areas that do not converse with one another. Instead, we must find a way to bring them together. She suggests that we ought to pursue an integrated approach where 'one can examine the dynamic interactions of conceptual, textual, linguistic, material, and historical complexes'.³⁴ For her, what draws all these things together is cognition. Cognition and the mind is where a vast array of different thoughts, sensations, and experiences all come together. But how does one account for cognition? Van Wolde's approach is to begin with a Cognitive Linguistic analysis of the biblical texts. The method she uses is based upon Ronald Langacker's Cognitive Grammar and she employs it with a high degree of success. She draws on the cognition of ancient Israelites in order to explain the linguistic phenomena before her. By the end of her work she has proven that a cognitive approach to language promises great benefit to biblical scholarship. She does not, however, reframe the entirety of biblical studies, as her title ambitiously appears to claim. Hers is a linguistic contribution and may help scholarship to reframe the way it approaches biblical semantics. Nevertheless, as a linguistic contribution that draws on cognition, it will figure prominently in the remainder of this study, and will be evaluated accordingly in the following chapter.

Both van Wolde and Shead, then, offer us a way forward, a way that accounts for cognition. Consequently, because meaning is conceptual, and because concepts are integrally linked to extra-linguistic context, any semantic study must find a way to incorporate that type of evidence. That is, semantics must be able to account for encyclopaedic knowledge, the entire body of knowledge that a language user has about his or her world. Thus this position allows for a broader base of research for the study of meaning in Biblical Hebrew, for example. No longer are we constrained by the text of the Hebrew Bible in isolation, but we instead can appeal to various other sorts of information, insofar as that information contextualizes the utterance, or text, at hand. With respect to a study of cooking in Biblical Hebrew, likely the most fruitful information

33 As with Shead, van Wolde's contribution will receive further analysis in the following methodology chapter.

34 Ellen J. van Wolde, *Reframing Biblical Studies: When Language and Text Meet Culture, Cognition, and Context* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 2.

for providing such context would be archaeology of cooking environments in ancient Israel. The more we know about what kinds of pots are used, or how ovens were operated, or what kinds of foods were most frequently cooked, for instance, will fill out the context for the meaning of texts and words associated with such things.³⁵

Therefore, since the cognitive approach used in this study will rely heavily on knowledge of ancient Palestine and daily life experienced there, we must account for what has already been written on the subject. What were homes like for ancient Israelites? What did they cook, and how did they do it? What were familial relationships like? This and much more will provide a backdrop for the cognitive linguistic study of cooking.

2 **Review of Archaeological Literature Pertaining to Daily Life and the Israelite Family**

The 1985 *BASOR* article by Lawrence Stager ‘The Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel’ has proven to be seminal for similar research in the subsequent decades. His attention to the seemingly insignificant archaeological details of house and home contributed greatly to the explosion of like-minded studies, though the effect was of a broader range than he might have anticipated. Only three decades have passed since it won widespread acclaim, but the general academic milieu has changed considerably because of it. Whereas once his voice was in relative solitude, those who argue for attention to the Israelite family are now many. I will attempt to trace a thematic and chronological outline of the contributions of these many voices, focusing primarily on those which have implications for the current understanding of Israelite food production and preparation. In doing so, I will appeal to the following categories which represent the area of their particular interest: architecture, equipment, daily routine, and social world.³⁶

35 Traditional archaeology is not the only helpful tool for discovering how ancient people cooked. Many scholars have also drawn on insights from ethnography, anthropology and the like with great benefit in Biblical Studies and archaeology. For example, see the discussion of Stager and Holladay below.

36 The stated categories are clearly not mutually exclusive but serve as general distinctions. Another possible category is that of ethnicity and origins, that is, how the four-room house is connected to Israelite ethnicity and from what setting the design of the building type originated. Each of the studies mentioned will in some way interact with this discussion, explicitly or implicitly. However, for a sample of studies interested in this specific question see Gloria London, ‘A Comparison of Two Contemporaneous Lifestyles of

2.1 *Architecture*

Those primarily concerned to analyse Israelite architecture with an eye toward domestic life are led by John Holladay.³⁷ Whereas Stager outlined the generalities of the typical Israelite building style, Holladay subsequently published what has become the standard description of this style in the *Anchor Bible Dictionary* in 1992.³⁸ Between this and two later pieces (1997, 2009), he has provided scholarship with a wealth of information, synthesizing a great many excavation reports as well as incorporating ethnoarchaeology, the method of archaeology that looks to describe the people and customs of those who used the now excavated space.³⁹ In so doing, he consistently draws upon comparison to ancient rural villages in Iran and therefore is able to make very illuminating suggestions concerning the arrangement of the Israelite house. These include conclusions about typical room usage, namely where a family would have worked, entertained, cooked, stored animals, and how this would affect the daily rhythm for ancient Israelites.

Many studies have since followed and drawn heavily upon Holladay, such as those of Faust and Bunimovitz (2003) and Hardin (2004, 2010).⁴⁰ On the

the Late Second Millennium B.C.; *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 273 (1989): 37–55; William G. Dever, 'Ceramics, Ethnicity, and the Question of Israel's Origins', *Biblical Archaeologist* 58, no. 4 (1995): 200–213; Israel Finkelstein, 'Ethnicity and Origin of the Iron I Settlers in the Highlands of Canaan: Can the Real Israel Stand Up?', *The Biblical Archaeologist* 59, no. 4 (1996): 198–212. Each of these, in varying degrees will intersect with the current topic of food preparation by analysing the pottery assemblage or architecture in the early Iron Age settlements. They were not included in the main text because they have grown not from Stager, but from a very different argument about Israelite identity and origins.

37 There are indeed other examples of those who have focused on the architecture, but not with the same consideration for domestic/daily life. One example is Larry G. Herr, 'Tripartite Pillared Buildings and the Market Place in Iron Age Palestine', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 272 (1988): 47–67.

38 John S. Holladay, 'House, Israelite', in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman et al., vol. 3 (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 308–18.

39 Ibid.; John S. Holladay, 'Four-Room House', in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, ed. Eric M. Meyers, vol. 2 (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 337–42; John S. Holladay, '"Home Economics 1407" and the Israelite Family and Their Neighbors: An Anthropological/Archaeological Exploration', in *Family in Life and Death*, ed. Patricia Dutcher-Walls (London: T & T Clark, 2009), 61–88.

40 Shlomo Bunimovitz and Avraham Faust, 'Building Identity: The Four-Room House and the Israelite Mind', in *Symbiosis, Symbolism, and the Power of the Past: Canaan, Ancient Israel, and Their Neighbors from the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palaestina*, ed. William G. Dever and Seymour Gitin (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 411–23; Avraham Faust, 'The

one hand, Faust and Bunimovitz represent those who have attempted to make further conclusions about ancient Israelites based upon the available archaeological data about the four-room house. Hardin, on the other hand, represents those many scholars who have sought to expand that very set of data by means of working through a particular excavation report with which he was involved. The former makes sociological claims, such as the function and rationale for the four-room house type, and the latter makes ethnoarchaeological claims, including the precise description of the location of activities within the house and equipment involved in those activities. All such work on architecture enables a greater sensitivity to the nature of lived-space and how it interacts with, or at times determines, family activity.

2.2 *Equipment*

Related to the study of Israelite architecture has been the analysis of the equipment discovered and its probable uses. Prominent among such studies are those of McNutt (1990) and Curtis (2001).⁴¹ McNutt's focus is on the transition to and adoption of iron technology in ancient Israel and their ensuing ramifications. Admittedly, iron technology is not as dominant in the area of food production as is pottery, but her work is nevertheless paradigmatic in that it paves a way in understanding the diachronic use of technology in the ancient world. This methodology is then fairly transferable to a study of food technology, which would necessarily include some of her conclusions, but would expand into the study of ceramic and stone ware.⁴²

Rural Community in Ancient Israel during Iron Age II', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 317 (2000): 17–39; Avraham Faust and Shlomo Bunimovitz, 'The Four Room House: Embodying Iron Age Israelite Society', *Near Eastern Archaeology* 66, no. 1 (2003): 22–31; James W. Hardin, 'Understanding Domestic Space: An Example from Iron Age Tel Halif', *Near Eastern Archaeology* 67, no. 2 (2004): 71–83; Hardin, *Lahav II*.

41 Paula M. McNutt, *The Forging of Israel: Iron Technology, Symbolism, and Tradition in Ancient Society*, *Social World of Biblical Antiquity* (Sheffield: Almond Press; Sheffield Academic Press, 1990); Robert I. Curtis, *Ancient Food Technology*, vol. 5, *Technology and Change in History* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2001).

42 A fitting example of stoneware analysis and its use in food production can be found in Jennie R. Ebeling and Yorke M. Rowan, 'The Archaeology of the Daily Grind: Ground Stone Tools and Food Production in the Southern Levant', *Near Eastern Archaeology* 67, no. 2 (2004): 108–17; An example of pottery analysis as it related to food production, albeit with a focus on the Philistine population, is David Ben-Shlomo et al., 'Cooking Identities: Aegean-Style Cooking Jugs and Cultural Interaction in Iron Age Philistia and Neighboring Regions', *American Journal of Archaeology* 112, no. 2 (2008): 225–46.

A more dedicated study of food technology and production was offered by Robert Curtis. Though his scope was broad enough to include Egypt and the Greco-Roman world, he also reserved a section for the ancient Near East, within which he made regular mention of Syria-Palestine. His objective was to catalogue the food technology in use throughout these regions, and how it was utilized by their ancient inhabitants. The pure archaeological data stand not as the main goal but as a platform for discussing peoples and activities that lie behind the data. Some of the most helpful sections are those which describe the process of grinding grain for bread, or the processing of meat and other activities performed in the daily routine. One must exercise some caution, however, in attempting to apply Curtis' information to ancient Israel because the scope is decidedly different. He undoubtedly includes evidence that cannot be applied to every society within the ancient Near East or even to each time period. Instead Curtis' work is intended to provide an overview of sorts, one which is indeed a very helpful starting point for further investigation.

Recently, Cynthia Shafer-Elliott has added to this part of the archaeological discussion.⁴³ In her work, which is concerned more with the following section on daily routines, she spends a significant amount of time describing the various cooking utensils and cooking installations that have been found in excavations in a few sites from the territory of ancient Judah. Her precise value for this area—equipment—is not that she has discovered any new pots or ovens, but that she has systematically described all the common cooking equipment in one place, rendering it much easier to visualize the entire picture.

2.3 *Daily Routine*

Those works mentioned above certainly engage with, sometimes even directly, the daily routine of ancient Israelites. However, this engagement is not their main agenda. That agenda belongs to a great many other works, the chief among them being Hopkins (1985, 1987), Borowski (principally 1987, 2003), King and Stager (2001), MacDonald (2008a, 2008b) and Shafer-Elliott.⁴⁴ Hopkins, for his

43 Shafer-Elliott, *Food in Ancient Judah*.

44 David C. Hopkins, *The Highlands of Canaan: Agricultural Life in the Early Iron Age*, *The Social World of Biblical Antiquity* 3 (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1985); David C. Hopkins, 'Life on the Land: The Subsistence Struggles of Early Israel', *Biblical Archaeologist* 50, no. 3 (S 1987): 178–91; Oded Borowski, *Agriculture in Iron Age Israel* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1987); Oded Borowski, *Daily Life in Biblical Times*, *Archaeology and Biblical Studies* 5 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003); Philip J. King and Lawrence E. Stager, *Life in Biblical Israel*, *Library of Ancient Israel* (Louisville; London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001); Nathan MacDonald, *Not Bread Alone* [electronic Resource]: *The Uses of Food*

part, focuses on the realities of subsistence living that the early Israelite settlers of the hill country in Palestine would have experienced. Within such a framework, he can offer insights as to the agricultural necessities (clearing forests, creating terraces, etc.) and realities (water availability), as well as the division of labour within the average settler family. While the majority of his conclusions pertain to agriculture, the obvious connection between this and food production and preparation in subsistence life makes it largely transferrable.

Both Borowski and King and Stager address directly the food production routine of ancient Israel. Both do so in larger works intended to discuss a much broader range of daily life for Israelites. Their titles alone show such to be true. Indeed, even the technique employed is quite comparable between them. Both have extended archaeological experience, the former primarily at Tel Halif and the latter primarily at Ashkelon, and draw regularly upon it to make conclusions about daily life. They both also connect their information to ancient texts, biblical and otherwise. One substantial difference, however, lies in the presentation of findings. King and Stager's presentation leans on the side of more careful, more discrete claims about daily life, and provides more references to the evidence used. This allows the reader to have a more critical engagement with the work. Borowski, while often well-informed himself, errs on the side of readability instead of including voluminous data as evidence, thereby sacrificing the reader's critical engagement. The problem is itself compounded when his conclusions are shown to be quite misleading in places. An example of this is his discussion of the average Israelite diet, where he seems to imply that all foods found in Palestine were available to all people, regardless of their relative status.⁴⁵

Nathan MacDonald's topic is slightly different in that he is concerned with a very specific aspect of daily life, namely, food itself. He asks what the ancient Israelites actually ate, as opposed to what was merely agriculturally possible. In so doing, he effectively produces a believable diet for the average Israelite in the biblical period. This can then be used to narrow the field of one who wishes to study food preparation, seeing as the production of high-status food is likely

in the *Old Testament*, Oxford Scholarship Online (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); MacDonald, *What Did the Ancient Israelites Eat?*; Shafer-Elliott, *Food in Ancient Judah*.

45 The criticism can be found in MacDonald, *What Did the Ancient Israelites Eat?*, 8–9. He also criticizes King and Stager for a similar fault, though theirs is not nearly so grievous, seeing as they merely show the variety of foodstuffs and do not claim that the average Israelite ate all these things on a regular basis. They are also quite careful to mention which biblical character is said to eat which food, and therefore it is clear that when King David ate something, that may not transfer to the average person.

not going to factor much in rural daily routines. One is then able to combine MacDonald's diet with Curtis' food technology and uses in order to create a much clearer picture of such things as bread and wine production.⁴⁶

Shafer-Elliott, mentioned above, asks *how* the ancient Israelites cooked. What was the means of their production? What utensils did they use and how? That is, what does archaeology tell us about the cooking practices in Iron Age Judah? This work is particularly important for the present research as it documents the material remains of daily cooking activity, while I will be looking at the description of those practices in Biblical Hebrew.

2.4 Social World

There are yet others, having leaned on Stager, whose intentions are to describe the general social environment of ancient Israel. Prominent among these are Matthews and Benjamin (1993) and Meyers (1988, 1999, 2003, 2009).⁴⁷ The Matthews and Benjamin text is concerned to convey those aspects of life that distinguished one member of society from another. They ask questions about what made a priest's life and role in society different from that of a village elder, or a midwife, for example. The most applicable section to the current study is the chapter about the role of mothers, as they are the ones who oversee

46 For a discussion of beer production in ancient Israel, see Michael M. Homan, 'Beer and Its Drinkers: An Ancient Near Eastern Love Story', *Near Eastern Archaeology* 67, no. 2 (2004): 84–95.

47 Victor Harold Matthews and Don C. Benjamin, *Social World of Ancient Israel, 1250–587 BCE* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1993); Carol L. Meyers, *Discovering Eve: Ancient Israelite Women in Context* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Carol L. Meyers, 'Women and the Domestic Economy of Early Israel', in *Women in the Hebrew Bible: A Reader*, ed. Alice Bach (New York: Routledge, 1999), 33–43; Carol L. Meyers, 'Material Remains and Social Relations: Women's Culture in Agrarian Households of the Iron Age', in *Symbiosis, Symbolism, and the Power of the Past: Canaan, Ancient Israel, and Their Neighbors from the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palaestina*, ed. William G. Dever and Seymour Gitin (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 425–44; Carol L. Meyers, 'In the Household and Beyond', *Studia Theologica* 63, no. 1 (May 2009): 19–41; See also Carol L. Meyers, 'Everyday Life: Women in the Period of the Hebrew Bible', in *The Women's Bible Commentary*, ed. Carol A. Newsom and Sharon H. Ringe (London; Louisville: SPCK; Westminster John Knox, 1992), 244–51; Carol L. Meyers, 'The Family in Early Israel', in *Families in Ancient Israel*, ed. Leo G. Perdue, The Family, Religion, and Culture (Louisville; London: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 1–47; Carol L. Meyers, 'Early Israel and the Rise of the Israelite Monarchy', in *The Blackwell Companion to the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Leo G. Perdue, Blackwell Companions to Religion (Oxford; Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2005), 61–86; Carol L. Meyers, 'Women in Ancient Israel: An Overview', in *The Torah: A Women's Commentary* (New York: URJ Press, 2008), xli–xlvi.

domestic production of food and related items. Matthews and Benjamin here do not provide a great deal of new information, but the value of their work is instead in how they show us the person behind the activity. In this case, they show us the mother's concerns, needs, etc., which gives the archaeological evidence a sense of embodiment.⁴⁸ This, in turn, has the ability to pull the reins on those whose conclusions tend to show too much attention to quantities of cooking pots discovered or archaeological drawings of cooking hearths, for example, and tend to forget the human beings that lie behind them.

Carol Meyers has written extensively concerning Israelite rural life, and scholarship is much the better because of it. Meyers has championed the cause of studying women in early Israel and their societal functions. Not only does this display an attention to the Israelite family, a fringe pursuit before Stager, but she pushes further to ask about women, and how the male-dominated academy has completely neglected them. Stager himself had largely neglected to address questions of gender in his analysis.⁴⁹ Meyers, however, has been able to show how crucial a focus on gender truly is. Particularly for early Israel, before the monarchy, life in villages was determined by the fragility of subsistence agriculture. In such an environment, the roles of men and women at this time were not, she argues, characterized by public and private domains, or by valued and non-valued labour, as began to take hold in the more established social structure under the monarchy.⁵⁰ At this early time, Meyers suggests, labour was divided after an egalitarian fashion, and the division into public and private would have been counter-productive. Survival depended on valuing all work, not just that of one gender. Such observations are manifested in power relations between the genders. Men were not the ones who retained all the social power and authority, though modern archaeological techniques leave scholars blind to such a fact. Power was instead distributed more equally; while men likely retained visible power (militaristic, judicial, etc.), women's power in such a subsistence economy derived chiefly from their ability to control the production of essential goods, including food. Without their labour, the family would not have survived. Additionally, given the likelihood that women baked bread and ground grain together in a common space, it appears as though they

48 Whether or not Matthews and Benjamin ought to be trusted in their assessment of the various characters is addressed below, under methodologies.

49 For a review of Stager (1985, 2001) as well as several other works on daily life in the ANE, see Beth Alpert Nakhai, 'Daily Life in the Ancient Near East: New Thoughts on an Old Topic', *Religious Studies Review* 31, no. 3–4 (2005): 147–53.

50 Meyers, 'Material Remains and Social Relations: Women's Culture in Agrarian Households of the Iron Age', 435.

retained an extended potential power base of their own, a kind of organized work force with the ability to act as a group.⁵¹ These observations and this attention to women in ancient Israel is what gives strength to her claims. It is also what informs the present question regarding food preparation, given that women were those who were intimately involved in the process.

3 Methodologies in Archaeology

The general history given above serves to illustrate the divergent topics that grew out of Stager's research. The present section is intended to engage with the methodologies used in those works. Most of the works already mentioned deem as insufficient the standard archaeological practices where scholars search for evidence to corroborate the biblical story or to discover details previously unknown of familiar history, or even simply to track the major shifts of time on a massive scale. This type of research cannot continue unchecked. As Carol Meyers aptly noted,

[T]he information in those written records, the Hebrew Bible in particular, has seduced us into using archaeology to trace large-scale social and political processes without paying much attention to small-scale social and political processes. We have let the agendas of the texts set the agendas of our digs. We have been concerned with ethnicities and kingdoms, not with individual family groups. The 'state' or 'city-state' or 'tribe' has been reckoned the primary social structure, when in reality the *household*, as the basic unit of production and reproduction, is the primary socioeconomic unit of society and should be acknowledged as the social and economic center of any settlement.⁵²

Meyers speaks here primarily about Iron Age I contexts, but the analysis crosses over well into how scholars ought to discuss archaeology of the entire biblical period. She, in fact, goes on to state that historians of ancient Israel, in general, require a paradigm shift:

We should learn from the prehistorians that a wealth of information about a society is possible were we to take more often a bottom-->top perspective instead of the top-->down perspective that has dominated Syro-Palestinian

51 Ibid., 435–437.

52 Ibid., 427.

archaeology. We need to take advantage of the ubiquity and abundance of households and of their surviving material components—structures and artifacts—in order to learn more about life in the Iron Age as it was experienced by most of the population and not just the leadership classes.⁵³

While this suggested mode does indeed provide great stores of information about the life of the general populace during the biblical period, what remains to be stated for the present purpose is the benefit from doing such a thing. Of what value is the knowledge of daily life of rural Israelites? More specifically, what does the knowledge of Israelite daily life tell us about the biblical texts? In what ways does it illuminate one's reading? What, while once opaque, becomes clear?

If indeed these are the pertinent questions, one must be careful to heed Meyers' warnings above in order that the biblical texts are handled with care and used appropriately. The researcher must also clearly pay close attention to hermeneutics, wary of the pitfalls of imposing one's own assumptions on the text, consequently making it say what was never intended. In the current situation, if one were to forget that the Bible primarily makes theological claims and often does so with historiography as the *vehicle*, rather than historical claims according to the kind a modern historian would prefer, a much distorted history would indeed emerge.⁵⁴ The biblical text, moreover, is not

53 Ibid., 427–8.

54 By way of a simple illustration, see the tortuous discussion regarding the number of Israelites who came out of Egypt, as recorded in Numbers 1.46. Was it two million or a few thousand? If 'eleph literally means a thousand, then how could Egypt have held roughly two million Israelites hostage, and how could the Canaanites have been any threat to them? For the discussion, characterized by scholars trying to grapple with mathematics and hermeneutics in ways quite different from one another, see Colin J. Humphreys, 'The Number of People in the Exodus from Egypt: Decoding Mathematically the Very Large Numbers in Numbers I and XXVI', *Vetus Testamentum* 48, no. 2 (1998): 196–213; M. McEntire, 'The Number of People in the Exodus from Egypt: Decoding Mathematically the Very Large Numbers in Numbers-I and Numbers-XXVI—a Response to Colin J. Humphreys (a Short Note Regarding Mathematical Values in Ancient Hebrew Literature)', *Vetus Testamentum* 49, no. 2 (1999): 262–64; R. Heinzerling, 'On the Interpretation of the Census Lists by C.J. Humphreys and G.E. Mendenhall (examining Non-Historical Statistical Peculiarities in the "Book of Numbers")', *Vetus Testamentum* 50, no. 2 (2000): 250–52; Colin J. Humphreys, 'The Numbers in the Exodus from Egypt: A Further Appraisal (an Alternative Interpretation of Ancient Hebrew Census Documentation)', *Vetus Testamentum* 50, no. 3 (2000): 323–28; Gary A. Rendsburg, 'An Additional Note to Two Recent Articles on the Number of People in the Exodus from Egypt and the Large Numbers in Numbers-I and Numbers-XXVI', *Vetus Testamentum* 51, no. 3 (2001): 392–96.

concerned to describe for its readers the matters of daily rural life. It does so only as this coincides with its own agenda, hence the care required on the part of the reader. As a result, scholars are left essentially with two things: a highly nuanced text, typically with altogether different purposes from that of the scholarly investigator, and the archaeological record.

There remains a problem with the above practice. Restated simply the theory is: knowledge of daily life should be used to illuminate biblical texts, and biblical texts are a major source for the knowledge of daily life. How is it possible to avoid this cyclical pattern? Some have gone the route of rearranging these sources as follows: science, as represented by archaeology and its fellow disciplines, informs the understanding of daily life, which then, if the scholar so wishes, can be applied to the knowledge of the biblical text. Thus, the Bible is removed from being a source and made to be simply a place where the information may be applied. Many scholars are not even all that concerned with that final stage, perhaps attempting to liberate the historical Palestine from the tyranny of the biblical agenda.⁵⁵ But this trajectory, with the Bible at the end only, excludes a great deal of material that could assist the understanding of ancient Israel's life and practices. How, then, can this problem be solved? Is there a judicious way to use biblical texts?

Stager's article gave reason for hope and found a methodological middle way. He proposed to apply Ricoeur's advice, namely, that the historian must give logical precedence to the question he or she is asking, as opposed to giving precedence to the document being studied. That is to say, the question sets the agenda, not the source, and the source is only 'relevant' when it provides answers to the question. Stager, therefore, asked questions of technology, ecology, house function, etc., and allowed the various sources, textual or otherwise, to contribute their voices to the discussion. For one to practice this method faithfully, he or she must be well-trained in interpreting each of the given sources, something which is often missing in scholarship. There are too many cases of biblical scholars inappropriately using archaeological discoveries to fit their point, or archaeologists grossly misreading biblical texts to fit theirs, in both maximalist and minimalist camps. Stager, himself, was effectively able to avoid these extremes. Those who followed him are to be found all across the spectrum.

55 While I do not find such motivation convincing, or its objectives plausibly attainable, there is certainly a great deal of merit to evaluating the difference between the testimonies of text and spade.

An interesting example is the comparison of Borowski⁵⁶ and MacDonald.⁵⁷ MacDonald accuses Borowski of a poor reading of both archaeological finds and biblical texts where Borowski essentially argued that, because various food-stuffs can be identified in both archaeological finds and the Bible, they must therefore have been regular parts of the ancient Israelite diet.⁵⁸ MacDonald, then, throughout the course of his book, attempts to provide a careful and nuanced reading of both material and literary sources as they answer the question of what the ancient Israelites ate. He gave logical precedence, then, to his question, and therefore offered a well-reasoned answer. Borowski, however, did not appear to read the biblical text very critically, and seemed to quote the Bible as a proof-text for his assumptions. Of course, Borowski used many sources aside from the Bible in his study, he himself being an archaeologist, but these sources are not usually provided and thus the reader is left wondering about the source for his information.

Matthews and Benjamin have a somewhat different problem.⁵⁹ They have given precedence to their question, as they should, but they seem to have difficulty collecting sufficient evidence for the answers they provide. They govern their chapters by a certain framework, the protocol for a given member of society, each chapter dedicated to a different member. The details of this protocol, however, are quite often based on slim evidence, or small sample bases. Of course, these small sample bases are frequently all that is available, but that would mandate conclusions that are less bold. It is likely, though, that much of what they conclude is correct, or approximately so, but it remains difficult to verify one way or another. In addition to having problems of verification, the authors base some of their conclusions on evidence that has been squarely dismissed. For example, they base the rationale for biblical prohibition of perpetual slavery on the assumption that the early Israelites should be identified with the 'apiru of the Amarna age, a view no longer tenable.⁶⁰ It is interesting to observe that this assumed equation also displays the authors' general

56 Borowski, *Daily Life*.

57 MacDonald, *What Did the Ancient Israelites Eat?*

58 Ibid., 6.

59 Matthews and Benjamin, *Social World of Ancient Israel, 1250–587 BCE*.

60 Ibid., 200; For an overview of the discussion, see Iain W. Provan, V. Philips Long, and Tremper Longman, *A Biblical History of Israel* (Louisville; London: Westminster John Knox, 2003), 170–172; Anson F. Rainey, *The Sacred Bridge: Carta's Atlas of the Biblical World* (Jerusalem: Carta, 2006), 88–89. Though the atlas is co-authored with R. Steven Notley, Rainey wrote all the chapters up until the Persian period. Therefore, I will from now on cite only Rainey as the author.

distrust of the Bible as a source for history for there is no way to reconcile the story of Israelites being *'apiru* with the biblical story.

Meyers, too, has a very distinct view in regard to the text that informs how she uses it. In her view, the text is shaped by its androcentrism. Unlike some other feminist scholars, however, she does not allow this to discount its value as she sees it. Instead, she recommends caution, and awareness of the gender bias of the Hebrew Bible. If one can sift through it, then valuable results are achievable. Further, she claims that there are some texts which have, to a greater degree than others, shed their androcentricity, such as that of Judges or Song of Songs. These can be used with less bias filtration. Even those texts which betray more androcentrism than others can be used as a helpful source, according to Meyers. While she occasionally uses language that promotes a general distrust of the Bible as a source for reconstructing the past, this is not reflected in her practice.⁶¹ Rather, she acknowledges that the Bible is a valuable resource, one among several, for such a task. Usually the Bible is combined with archaeology to offer a comprehensive picture of the past. However, Meyers maintains, though the Bible and archaeology are helpful, they are not entirely sufficient, even together. To answer the questions of history adequately, she argues, one must fill gaps and suggest probabilities by means of the social sciences.⁶²

The appeal to the social sciences belongs not only to Meyers, though hers may be the most explicit such appeal. John Holladay, for his part, makes perhaps the most extensive use of the social science methods in explaining the Israelite settlement. As mentioned in the above historical section, Holladay makes extensive use of comparative ethnoarchaeology, particularly comparing the Israelite four-room house with houses found in ancient Iranian villages.⁶³ This methodology opens up wide vistas for exploration, and has a powerful ability to fill the gaps left by the Bible and archaeology in Palestine, such as Meyers suggested existed. The important caveat remains that this is heavily based upon comparative analysis with another culture. Who is to know whether these gaps are being filled accurately? As with the general scholarly trend, however, if the archaeological and textual evidence fits more closely in this mould than in others, then it ought to be given preferential treatment.

61 Meyers, 'Early Israel and the Rise of the Israelite Monarchy', 75. She slides in a quick comment to the effect that a more or less critical history would not take the biblical narrative 'at face value,' which, without qualifying her meaning, gives the reader that sense of distrust, despite the fact that the biblical narrative is concerned with something quite different.

62 Ibid., 75–76.

63 Holladay, 'House, Israelite'; Holladay, 'Four-Room House'; Holladay, 'Home Economics'.

At present, it seems as though Holladay's application of ethnoarchaeology does indeed satisfy this criterion and thus stands as a legitimate tool.⁶⁴

4 Conclusion

In this chapter we began with a revolution in biblical semantics, inaugurated by Barr. No longer was outdated semantic method to be tolerated. In that same spirit we look back now at Barr's era and say that we need to change yet again. Cognitive Linguistics says that meaning is in the mind. Therefore, if we are to account for meaning in Hebrew, we must account for the conceptual realm of its users. To discuss daily life and cooking language, we must understand what daily life and cooking activities were like for Hebrew speakers. And so we traced the history of research both in biblical semantics and in the archaeology of daily life in ancient Palestine. What we need now is a clearly developed method for bringing these studies together in a meaningful way.

64 For a more sustained defence of using comparative ethnographic evidence, see Patty Jo Watson, 'Ethnographic Analogy and Ethnoarchaeology', in *Archaeology, History and Culture in Palestine and the Near East: Essays in Memory of Albert E. Glock* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 47–65.

Methodology

The material found in this chapter will, to some degree, overlap with what has been said in the literature review. The difference is that instead of merely cataloguing the history of research, I will here outline different methods used in the past in order to demonstrate why they are no longer adequate. The aim is to build a case for a new methodology.

1 Previous Theories of Word Meaning

Word meaning has featured prominently in much of the linguistic discourse in the last century. Views on the matter have ranged widely, with nearly as many opinions as there are linguists. Despite their variety, it is nevertheless possible to organize these perspectives into a few groupings. John Taylor, a prominent cognitive linguist, divides approaches to word meaning into three general groups: language-world, language-internal, and conceptualist.¹ The language-world approach to word meaning suggests that one would compare words with things that can be seen in the real world. One could make this comparison either by means of semasiology or onomasiology. Semasiology is the practice where one would take a word and ask of it, ‘to what things in the observable world could this word refer?’. Onomasiology, on the other hand, sees it from the other way round. Instead, it would have one look at an object in the world and ask, ‘what should this be called?’. Of these two perspectives, the former begins with language, and the latter begins with the world. Both, however, attempt to connect language and world directly.² In the study of Biblical Hebrew, this language-world approach has been exemplified in attempts by archaeologists to match their findings with terminology from the Hebrew Bible. The linguistic identification of pottery is a case in point. In 1948 James Kelso published an article on the Hebrew vocabulary for what was known of the ancient ceramic

1 Taylor, *Cognitive Grammar*, 186–187; Taylor is followed by van Wolde, *Reframing Biblical Studies*, 51–60.

2 Taylor, *Cognitive Grammar*, 187–190.

assemblage.³ Each paragraph is dedicated to a Hebrew term and the pottery-ware to which Kelso matched it. Descriptions are a mix of archaeological and textual information. Half a century later, both King and Stager as well as Dever published their own simplified and revised versions of the same kind of assemblage.⁴ Each of these is simply matching up words with known pottery types. A direct onomasiological connection is made between the language and the world. To a lesser degree, various Hebrew lexica perform the same operations when they deal with words related to *realia*. See, for example, the entry in *HALOT* for the word דִּבְדִּי, where its primary sense is given as: ‘deep two-handled cooking pot’.⁵ Instead of explicitly situating this word in its linguistic setting, *HALOT* instead describes its extra-linguistic reality. There is no mention as to how this word compares with other similar words or how it acts syntactically in its various instantiations. In *BDB* the matter is somewhat different, in that the first sense is simply ‘pot, kettle or⁶ cooking’, but it then provides some further linguistic information where *HALOT* does not.⁷ In the entry there is mention of parallel terms, in this case for other types of cooking pots as well as a syntactically-related verb, here בָּשַׁל. Though *BDB* antedated *HALOT* by several decades (only to speak of the first edition of *KB* 1953, let alone the later significant revisions), it was this kind of linguistic comparison, of a word with other related words, seen in this *BDB* entry, that anticipated some of the linguistic developments that were soon to follow.

For the time being, however, the direct connection to the world behind the text was seen as a legitimate and often determinative source for word meaning. Such is the case of classic philology as opposed to linguistics. Traditionally, linguistics tries to understand language on a meta-level, while philology observes the behaviour of a specific language, often with the aim of getting at something behind or beyond it. This distinction blurs at times, to be sure, but generally it holds true. But this philology in biblical studies did not usually exhibit

3 James Leon Kelso, *The Ceramic Vocabulary of the Old Testament*, Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research Supplement Studies 5/6 (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1948).

4 William G. Dever, *What Did the Biblical Writers Know, and When Did They Know It?: What Archaeology Can Tell Us About the Reality of Ancient Israel* (Grand Rapids; Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2001), 232–233; King and Stager, *Life*, 144–145.

5 Ludwig Koehler et al., *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 215.

6 It seems that this can only makes sense as a typographical error, and should be read as ‘for’.

7 Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament: With an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1979), 188.

the same tendencies as described above for Kelso and others, simply matching words to material remains. Such was clearly not the main concern of biblical philology. There was instead a different connection to the world behind the text—a connection between words and their history. To match words to their history, BDB, like other lexica, arranged the entries by root, and thus by etymology, and toward the beginning of many entries was also found a list of Semitic cognates.⁸ Arranging entries by stem, as Brown, Driver and Briggs mention in their preface, was ‘an obvious demand from the scientific point of view.’⁹ What it did, as we well know, was allow readers to see words deriving from the same lexical root all in one place and, consequently, to see meaning as derivational, deriving from the central and purportedly historical root. In order to determine the meaning of these roots, Brown, Driver and Briggs appealed to the information gleaned from cognate languages such as Arabic, Aramaic, Ethiopic etc. This process of grouping words by root and appealing to cognate languages in effect created a link between words and the proposed world lying behind them, and thus the work of BDB and other lexica of its era can be placed in the ‘language-world’ approach.

Largely in response to this language-world approach, structuralist linguistics, following on the heels of Ferdinand de Saussure, asserted that language must be studied as a structured system and word meaning can only be derived by comparing words to one another and to their place within this system. This challenged the very hegemony of what Taylor calls ‘language-world’ semantics, particularly diachronic semantics. That is, while one could admittedly study the history of word meaning and the derivation of words from a common root, this study would not lead one to the meaning of words in a text. What is needed instead is synchronic study. A word and its meaning must be studied as a product of the word’s synchronic linguistic system. Everything that can and should be studied for meaning is internal to the language. For this reason Taylor calls this a language-internal approach.¹⁰ For those who have followed this approach, looking outside of the language for meaning is no longer a question of lexical semantics or word meaning—it is instead to fall under pragmatics. Pragmatics and semantics, then, are strictly divided, a problem, as we will see, for those who adhere to the third approach given below.

8 Such a style was also used in other Semitic lexica, such as Wolfram von Soden, ed., *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch: Unter Benutzung des lexikalischen Nachlasses von Bruno Meissner (1868–1947)*, 3 vols. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1965).

9 BDB, 1979, x.

10 Taylor, *Cognitive Grammar*, 190–192.

Language-internal studies take a variety of forms. Very commonly a word is investigated by virtue of what paradigmatic and syntagmatic company it keeps. That is, a word is compared against those others which share a similar category (i.e. 'chicken' is compared to 'eagle', 'pigeon', etc. as other birds, but also 'bird' and 'animal' as hypernyms and 'hen', 'chick' or 'rooster' as hyponyms), and with those that come into regular syntactic contact with it (i.e. 'chicken' would be compared to 'lay', 'cluck', as some of the verbs for which it is the subject and perhaps 'pluck' or 'kill', as some of the verbs for which it is the object).¹¹ Another language-internal study is componential analysis, explained already in the literature review. This tool breaks down a word's meaning into a set of components. That is, 'boy' is given a [+male] [-adult] meaning, whereas 'man' is given a [+male] [+adult] meaning. Componential analysis, however, is not truly its own discipline, but is rather a tool to be used by those doing paradigmatic analysis (e.g. for comparing 'hen' and 'chick' as above).¹² Still others have attempted to establish different types of word meaning, namely lexical (basic) and contextual word meaning. Johannes Louw put forward this idea with respect to Greek, and gave ἐλάυνω as an example. Its typical translations (in Mk 6:48, Lk 8:29, Jn 6:19, Jas 3:4, 2 Pe 2:17) are 'row', 'drive', 'advance', 'push on' and 'blow along'. Instead of treating these all as different meanings for the word ἐλάυνω, he suggested that the word had a lexical meaning that simply specifies the action of causing an object to move from one place to another by applying a degree of force. These other glosses represent this lexical meaning

11 For one of the earliest and fullest descriptions of 'sense relations', see John Lyons, *Semantics*, vol. 1 (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 270–335; A later, briefer account can be found in John Lyons, *Linguistic Semantics: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 54–65; A helpful summary of the different types of paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations can be found in Stephen L. Shead, *Radical Frame Semantics and Biblical Hebrew: Exploring Lexical Semantics*, Biblical Interpretation Series (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 14–25.

12 Aside from a few comments here and there, componential analysis will not be dealt with thoroughly in this study. For more on the subject, see Nida, *Componential Analysis of Meaning*; Benjamin Kedar, *Biblische Semantik: Eine Einführung* (Stuttgart; Berlin; Köln; Mainz: Kohlhammer, 1981), 187–189; van Steenbergen, 'Componential Analysis of Meaning and Cognitive Linguistics', *JNSL* 1 and 2, 2002; Francesco Zanella, 'Could Componential Analysis Be More Than a Mere Heuristic Tool? Examples from Ancient Hebrew', *Kleine Untersuchungen zur Sprache des Alten Testaments und seiner Umwelt* 6 (2006): 113–37; Francesco Zanella, 'The Contribution of Componential Analysis to the Semantic Analysis of a Lexical Field of Ancient Hebrew: Some Concrete Examples from the Lexical Field of the Substantives of Gift', *European Journal of Jewish Studies* 2, no. 2 (December 2008): 189; Francesco Zanella, *The Lexical Field of the Substantives of 'Gift' in Ancient Hebrew*, Studia Semitica Neerlandica 54 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2010).

being applied to specific contexts, within specific constraints, hence contextual meaning.¹³

The other major feature of proper semantics, according to Saussure, was that it must be done synchronically.¹⁴ That is, the language system is only ever a system at one point in time. English, for example, is not the same now as it was three centuries ago, nor even as it was one century ago. To use texts from across such a wide range of time to study the structure of English would be foolish.¹⁵ As an English speaker, my linguistic environment does not incorporate centuries old texts, unless by conscious archaism on my part. Therefore, if one is to look at a language as a system, in the way that structuralism advocates, then one must begin by analysing a synchronic layer of that language.¹⁶ Furthermore, if it is inappropriate even to take different historical layers of the language into account, then it is even less appropriate to use information from other cognate languages. Pure structuralism insists on meaning being language-internal and, as a theory, leaves no space for appeal to other languages.

In Biblical Hebrew studies, these language-internal approaches have been used extensively over the last few decades. Much of this is thanks to none other than James Barr, with his 1961 no-punches-pulled *The Semantics of Biblical Language*.¹⁷ As mentioned in the literature review, this volume marked only the beginning of Barr's crusade to reform our erstwhile muddled approach to the words of the Bible. He was not content with the flippant way that biblical scholars and theologians were using the words of the Bible. Among his many biting criticisms was his dismantling of the etymological fallacy. He states, 'Etymology is not, and does not profess to be, a guide to the semantic value of words in their current usage, and such value has to be determined from the current usage and not from the derivation'.¹⁸ One can see from this statement alone, therefore, that Barr was concerned to bring the current 'language-world' biblical studies in line with the current 'language-internal' general linguistics.

13 Johannes P. Louw, 'How Do Words Mean—If They Do', *Filologia Neotestamentaria* 4, no. 8 (1991): 135.

14 Saussure, *Course*, 101–102.

15 One need only look at the English word 'gay' and its history for this to be apparent.

16 Indeed, Saussure allows for diachronic investigations of language. His major stipulation is that diachronic studies do not overstep their bounds. They can evaluate change in a language, but they cannot alone determine word meaning at a given point in the language. Saussure, *Course*, 140ff.

17 Barr, *Semantics*.

18 *Ibid.*, 107. Barr also notes, for example on p. 159, that etymology may be helpful for pointing in the direction of a word's meaning, particularly with rare words. This, however, must be corroborated with the word's literary context.

He, too, admits that etymology may be used to describe the history of a language, but one cannot rely upon it to determine the meaning of a word in its setting:

The main point is that the etymology of a word is not a statement about its meaning but about its history; it is only as a historical statement that it can be responsibly asserted, and it is quite wrong to suppose that the etymology of a word is necessarily a guide either to its 'proper' meaning in a later period or to its actual meaning in that period.¹⁹

Part of the same etymological problem was the way in which scholars relied excessively on information from cognate languages. If there was a related word in Akkadian, Old South Arabian, or any other Semitic language, it was considered fair game for adding new flavour to Hebrew words. There were original 'root meanings' common to all these languages, and so we could reconstruct Hebrew words by reference to related words in other languages. For Barr, this was altogether too simplistic. Again, he was not entirely against comparative Semitic studies, even when it came to assessing the meaning of Hebrew words, as proved by his *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament*. He did, however, frighten most scholars out of ever mentioning 'root meanings' or making one-to-one connections with cognate words found in related languages.²⁰ These connections must be held lightly and be used when the Hebrew language cannot provide an answer for us on its own. Essentially, Barr was advocating common sense.²¹

For Barr, and for language-internal semantics, the word's very setting is what is determinative for its meaning. He argues in his 1974 contribution, 'Etymology and the Old Testament' that 'the meanings of words are functions of the choice of this word as against that within the stock of elements at one time'.²² This statement may remind us of two of the major pillars of Saussurean semantics: that of synchronic linguistics (at *one time*) and paradigmatic relations—the

19 Ibid., 109.

20 See Barr, *Semantics*; Barr, *Time*; Barr, 'Etymology'; James Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament with Additions and Corrections* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1987).

21 Such common sense toward comparative studies was taken to the level of aversion by Clines who left cognate information out of his dictionary entirely. For this and for many things Clines' dictionary has been openly criticized. For example, see Muraoka, 'A New Dictionary of Classical Hebrew'; Van der Merwe, 'Towards a Principled Working Model for Biblical Hebrew Lexicology', 124–125. Barr himself was not quite as extreme as Clines.

22 Barr, 'Etymology', 20.

groups of words which hold some kind of semantic relation to one another, like 'dog, puppy, animal, pet, cat, etc.'. Therefore, Barr would have us believe that proper semantic inquiry must, inasmuch as is possible, be focused on the language system itself, and not on the world hiding behind or beyond it.

He pushes this point further when he turns his gaze on Kittel's *TDNT*. Kittel, claims Barr, had made the egregious error of conflating words with concepts—Greek words from the New Testament with Greek concepts or ideas. In fact, Barr spends some 47 pages meticulously deconstructing the very foundation of Kittel's dictionary—the creation of a 'concept history' of the New Testament.²³ Words cannot themselves carry the entire weight of a related concept. The word קָדוֹשׁ, for example, cannot carry the entire concept of holiness in the Hebrew Bible. The word, according to Barr's method, can only carry linguistic meaning, meaning within the language system. It can be compared to other words like צַדִּיק, יֵשׁוּעַ, טוֹב, etc., but not to the whole concept of holiness in Israelite thought. Indeed there are such grandiose concepts, but they are not coequal with the words used to describe them. What scholars on both sides of this argument were struggling with was how to compare such words and concepts to one another. How does one account for the conceptual sphere of the language users? For Barr, Kittel's method was the wrong one.

Since this time in the 1960s and 70s, everyone working in biblical semantics has had to pay homage to Barr, and for good reason. One can quickly see his principles come to light in such lexicographical work as Clines' *DCH*, in whose introduction he suggests that his dictionary has a theoretical base in modern linguistics, unlike earlier dictionaries. He goes on to say,

[W]e subscribe to the dictum that the meaning of a word is its use in the language. The focus here, then, is not so much on the meanings, or the translation equivalents, of individual words as on the patterns and combinations in which words are used.²⁴

Once again, we see syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations cropping up. While Clines' claim has been shown to be a bit on the exaggerated side, one could point to the various and recent manifestations of Köhler and Baumgartner, which still use the older method reliant upon cognate information and etymologies, though they, for their part, arrange their entries alphabetically and not by root.

23 Barr, *Semantics*, 207.

24 Clines, *DCH. Aleph*, 1:14–15.

Lexical works were not the only place where this language-world versus language-internal discussion played out. Word studies themselves also played a role. Studies by Barr's friends and students followed his lead, a case in point being John Sawyer's *Semantics in Biblical Research*, where he analyses the semantic field (a group of paradigmatically connected lexemes) of salvation.²⁵ Since Sawyer, many more have approached semantic (or lexical) fields as a legitimate direction for semantic inquiry.²⁶ Many others have advocated using componential analysis for the study of biblical words. Componential analysis, as already discussed, consists of breaking word meanings into their constituent parts, in a binary fashion. The obvious problem with such a binary approach to meaning is that there is no such clear division among words. אִישׁ, for example given as [+male][+adult], may generally be an adult male, but must it always be? Can it not underspecify gender, or age for that matter? אִשָּׁה, as [-male][+adult], on the other hand, more strongly specifies gender, but is the stage at which a יָלֵד becomes an אִשָּׁה the same as when a יָלֵד becomes an אִישׁ? For that matter, is יָלֵד always understood as male? This is, of course, an oversimplification of the problem, but componential analysis, by virtue of breaking words into binary components, has a difficult time accounting for meaning and thus has not won over too many scholars. But componential analysis did help scholarship to move forward. Because many scholars quickly realized that words were far too slippery to be accounted for in binary components, they were spurred on to ask what the alternative might be. If words eluded such hard, discrete boundaries, what method could account for such fluidity? Asking these questions helped to prompt many scholars toward a conceptual approach.

2 Moving Forward

Despite the many benefits that have come about because of a rigorous language-internal approach to word meaning, this approach has also come under serious scrutiny within mainstream linguistics. How could language possibly be studied only by looking at the language system without studying the mind

²⁵ Sawyer, *Semantics*.

²⁶ For but a few representative examples, see Samuel E. Balentine, 'A Description of the Semantic Field of Hebrew Words for "Hide"', *Vetus Testamentum* 30, no. 2 (April 1980): 137–53; Athalya Brenner, *Colour Terms in the Old Testament*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 21 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1982); Zanella, *The Lexical Field*.

and world of its users? Those who find themselves asking this question would normally be associated with what Taylor calls the conceptualist approach.²⁷ According to this approach, the dictionary-like attitude to word meaning, as seen in language-internal approaches, is not satisfactory. Instead, one must be committed to discovering the *encyclopaedic* view of a word. Dictionary meaning will give you only the necessary and sufficient information to distinguish the sense of one word from some others, but the encyclopaedic view will attempt to account for all information related to the sense of that word.²⁸ For example, a dictionary definition for 'bicycle' may state that it is a personal vehicle with two wheels and is ridden by sitting on it and pushing its two pedals.²⁹ This information may be able to distinguish a bicycle from a car or even from a tricycle, but it does not provide all the information related to the word 'bicycle'. Bicycles, in addition to pedals, have pneumatic tyres, a crank and chain, spokes, handlebars, brakes, and more. They can be used not only for personal transport, but also for sport. Sometimes people ride them on the street and other people sometimes ride them up and down mountains.³⁰ Any use of the word 'bicycle' in an utterance might draw upon the knowledge of one or more of these features, or upon something else not even mentioned here. In order to understand every use of the word 'bicycle', the interlocutor must have adequate encyclopaedic knowledge of bicycles. A dictionary definition, while helpful for certain purposes, cannot therefore account for word meaning. Furthermore, if one can assert that encyclopaedic knowledge is essential for uncovering this word meaning, then one must also acknowledge that we must access the conceptual world of the language users. Consequently, we find ourselves in the camp of Cognitive Linguistics.

As may be expected, the cognitive approach is not entirely uniform. In fact, the field of study is massive. However, there are a few types of cognitive study that are particularly relevant for Biblical Hebrew lexical semantics. First, there is prototype theory. According to this view, there is no 'necessary and sufficient' information by which to categorize words. For example, one cannot, according

27 Taylor, *Cognitive Grammar*, 192. 'Conceptualist' is the term used by Taylor, but 'cognitive' could just as easily be used here.

28 For a helpful comparison of dictionary meaning with encyclopaedic meaning (the cognitive perspective), see Ronald W. Langacker, 'Context, Cognition, and Semantics: A Unified Dynamic Approach', in *Job 28: Cognition in Context* (Boston: Brill, 2003), 179–230, especially section 2.2.

29 This working definition has been adapted from Richard A. Hudson, *Word Meaning, Language Workbooks* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995), 31.

30 Some of the above encyclopaedic information was also taken from *ibid*.

to principles of language, come up with a list of criteria that qualifies something as a bird and distinguishes it from another type of animal. A list such as 'has wings', 'can fly', 'lays eggs' applies even to many insects, and does not necessarily apply totally to penguins, ostriches, etc. Therefore, these distinctions are not very helpful. Instead, cognitive linguists argue that one could map out the members of a group on the scale of prototypical to marginal, whereby many language users would have birds like eagles, doves, or robins near the prototypical centre, whereas ducks, turkeys, and swans a little further away from that centre, and likely penguins, ostriches and other flightless birds would be on the margins. It is not an 'in or out' decision. Of course, this example is based upon certain knowledge of the world and of birds, and does not, therefore, represent the meaning of the names of these different birds, but rather one cognitive grouping of them. Someone having grown up in West Papua might have a very different prototypical bird and might place birds in a very different arrangement. This is why the word 'bird' cannot have an exact dictionary meaning, and cannot derive its meaning solely from within the structure of the language itself. It depends on the mind(s) of the user(s).

In addition to prototype theory, there has been a great deal of work done on Frame Semantics. According to Frame Semantics, every concept (the mental representation associated with a given word) is set against a frame, or a background of meaning. For example, the concept [BROTHER] is set against a frame [KINSHIP]; that is, a typical use of the concept [BROTHER] is understood with reference to the background or frame of [KINSHIP]. One must understand the basics of kinship relations, that people may produce offspring of either gender, and if at least one of those is a male, then the other would consider this one a brother. Moreover, the word 'brother' is itself a relational term, whereby an 'of' relationship is necessitated—someone must be the brother *of* someone else, and both of those people would share at least one parent. Without these pieces, [BROTHER] makes little sense.³¹ [BROTHER] is also understood more clearly when it fits within the entirety of the [KINSHIP] frame, a frame which includes not only other family relatives, but also the types of relationships that one has with them, the types of activities that each typically performs etc. It is for this reason that such study as done in Frame Semantics must be extremely careful to differentiate etic and emic categories. For instance, brothers in ancient Israel would have had different roles and relationships than brothers do in much of today's world. In ancient Israel, the brother could be someone

31 Other pieces are also required, though they may be less essential than what is given above.

who is to protect the honour of the family, and therefore the virginity of the sister (common still in some societies), whereas in some of today's cultures this would be rather inappropriate and certainly not a primary criterion for brotherhood. Cultures may also vary in terms of who could be considered a brother. Some cultures expect only a common biological father, whereas others expect both parents to be common to both offspring. Modern adoption practices confuse the matter further. Therefore, in order to understand clearly the concepts and the frames of Biblical Hebrew, one must take care to understand also the society and assumptions behind the language.

Stephen Shead, having criticized traditional structural semantics as being deficient when used in isolation, offers a spin on Frame Semantics that he applies to the study of Biblical Hebrew.³² His radical frame semantics entails seeing meaning in concepts (the frames), as opposed to lexemes. He will give a frame for [SEARCH] for example, which differs from the frame for [EXPLORE] in the following ways. In each of the two frames, there are different associated elements (frame elements). In [SEARCH], the frame elements that are essential to this frame are: the process by which one searches, the area in which one searches, the searcher, and the sought entity. He displays these as SEARCH, AREA, SEARCHER, and SOUGHT ENTITY. That is, if an utterance is conveying the concept of searching, one would also expect these other elements to be present in the utterance context, as in, 'He (SEARCHER) searched (SEARCH) the room (AREA) for his wallet (SOUGHT ENTITY)'. For [EXPLORE], however, the core frame elements are: the process by which one searches, the area, and the explorer (or EXPLORATION/SEARCH, AREA, and EXPLORER/SEARCHER), as in, 'She explored the house'. Therefore, the difference between the two concepts, [SEARCH] and [EXPLORE], is that the former instantiates, or regularly requires, the SOUGHT ENTITY to be present in the utterance context, whereas the latter concept does not have such a thing. This can be demonstrated easily by comparison to English, which happens to mirror this same feature. It is legitimate to say the first of the following sentences, but not the second.

32 Shead actually develops what he calls 'Radical Frame Semantics', which is a blend of Frame Semantics with Radical Construction Grammar. For our purposes, we will mainly consider the theory behind his method and thus will not need to spend time describing how he merges these two systems. For more on them individually, see William Croft, *Radical Construction Grammar: Syntactic Theory in Typological Perspective* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Charles J. Fillmore, 'Frame Semantics', in *Linguistics in the Morning Calm*, ed. Linguistics Society of Korea (Seoul: Hanshin, 1982), 111–37.

- (1) a. Yesterday, I was searching all over the house for my keys.
 b. *Yesterday, I was exploring all over the house for my keys.³³

This difference between [SEARCH] and [EXPLORE], then, is determined conceptually by which frame elements each instantiates. The former instantiates a sought entity whereas the latter does not. Each of these, moreover, would be distinguished from still other similar concepts like [INVESTIGATE] or [EXAMINE PERSON] because of another difference of frame elements.³⁴

In studying concepts against the backdrop of other related concepts, one might confuse Frame Semantics with lexical field theory, a theory with its source in structuralist semantics. While there are indeed some similarities, there are some important points of divergence between the two. Lexical field theory, as one would expect from a structuralist perspective, focuses on the language as a system. It appeals at times to concepts, but only analyses them by means of the words that represent them.³⁵ Therefore, instead of comparing, for example, [BROTHER] to [SISTER] and [FATHER], etc., lexical field theory compares 'brother' to 'sister' and 'father' and so on. It locates meaning in the very contrast between these words and their distribution; it is the distinction between 'brother' and 'sister' that defines each of them. Frame Semantics, on the other hand, locates meaning in the relationship between the concept [BROTHER] and the frame [KINSHIP].³⁶ It is this direct relationship to the frame that allows [BROTHER] to derive its meaning from the encyclopaedic knowledge of what a brother is and does. This encyclopaedic knowledge may involve a contrast with [SISTER], but it may not. Even if it does, it may not be the primary information for determining meaning.³⁷

A clearer illustration of the above involves the concept [HYPOTENUSE] and the word 'hypotenuse'. According to lexical field theory, 'hypotenuse' finds its meaning by contrast to other words in paradigmatic relation to it, namely other words in the same lexical field. However, in English, there is no name for the other sides of a right-angle triangle. At this point, Frame Semantics may step in and argue that [HYPOTENUSE] (the concept to which 'hypotenuse' points) relates directly to the frame [RIGHT-ANGLE TRIANGLE] and finds its meaning

33 The * designates an improper or malformed utterance.

34 For his explanation, see Shead, *Radical Frame Semantics*, 304–320.

35 William Croft and D. A. Cruse, *Cognitive Linguistics* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 10.

36 Ibid.

37 For further discussion on lexical/semantic fields, see Shead, *Radical Frame Semantics*, 25ff.

there. It is therefore by having the encyclopaedic knowledge of a right-angle triangle that one may understand the concept [HYPOTENUSE], which itself is instantiated by the word 'hypotenuse'. The result of all of this is that cognitive approaches such as Frame Semantics argue persuasively that word meaning must come from the relationship between the given concept and its frame or background.³⁸

A further advantage of Frame Semantics is that it is not beholden even to conceptual paradigmatic relationships. Instead, Frame Semantics understands concepts against the backdrop of their frame, as mentioned above. With a concept like [RESTAURANT], for example, one is not restricted by observing the paradigmatic differences between restaurants and other food service institutions. Rather, Frame Semantics would include other concepts like [CUSTOMER], [WAITER/SERVER], [FOOD], [BILL], [ORDERING], [PAYING], [MENU] etc., because these are the bits of information that help the speaker/hearer to *understand* [RESTAURANT].³⁹ These are the features that the speaker/hearer will most readily associate with it. Therefore, in Frame Semantics, one must ask what types of concepts the language user would associate with the concept at hand.

Additionally, and especially with respect to verbs, Frame Semantics relies on valency as a means to explore the conceptual content of a word. That is, a verb, such as 'buy' not only suggests concepts of [MONEY], [BUYER], [SELLER], [GOOD(S)], and so on, but some of these are actually required by the target concept, [BUY], in order for it to make sense. In that respect, one could argue that the concepts obligatorily invoked by the concept [BUY] are [MONEY], [BUYER], and [GOOD(S)]. The [SELLER] or [SELLING LOCATION] may often be invoked, but may perhaps not be absolutely necessary to imagine a buying scenario. Traditional Frame Semantics would divide these clearly into core frame elements and peripheral frame elements.

Frame semantics has thus shown itself to be a highly effective way to describe word meaning and to incorporate encyclopaedic information into its analysis. However, in some ways its explanatory power is lost because of

38 It is to be noted here that much of the work done in Hebrew-based lexical field theory actually uses some of the tools of Frame Semantics, though without the acknowledgment that this is a conflation of two distinct disciplines. It also does not typically incorporate the most profound insights, i.e. looking beyond paradigmatic relations for word meaning.

39 Croft and Cruse, *Cognitive Linguistics*, 7.

its tendency towards technical representation and high-specificity.⁴⁰ There is, helpfully, another method that sits in very close proximity to Frame Semantics, but allows non-specialists (here I am thinking of most biblical scholars) greater access to its techniques and insights. This method has been pioneered by Ronald Langacker and is called Cognitive Grammar.

Cognitive Grammar, though at first treated as marginal, has in recent years become a broadly accepted approach to the meaning of language.⁴¹ While this approach extends its reach into many linguistic realms, central to its semantic analysis is the assertion that a word has a matrix of three constituents: a profile, a base, and a cognitive domain. Ellen van Wolde explains:

[L]anguage is first and foremost considered as a conceptual organization, in which words get their meaning by profiling a certain entity on a certain base, in which sentences get their meaning by nominal or relational predications within a certain larger configuration or cognitive domain, and in which a cognitive domain is the selection of the linguistically relevant portion of our knowledge and experience.⁴²

Therefore, the profile is what the word actually describes, the base is the inherent and necessary information for understanding the profile, and the cognitive domain is the relevant portion of encyclopaedic knowledge of the world. It may be represented by a series of concentric circles, whereby the outermost circle is encyclopaedic knowledge—one's knowledge of the world. Within that circle is a cognitive domain—a select portion of encyclopaedic knowledge that limits the range of meaning for the circles within it. The innermost circle consists of a pairing of profile and base—the actual information communicated by the word.⁴³

40 These are my own observations based upon an attempt to use Frame Semantics to think about Biblical Hebrew words and their meaning. However, a different opinion is put forward by Shead, *Radical Frame Semantics*, 108. Here, Shead makes the argument that the theory of Frame Semantics is fairly intuitive and explicable in ordinary language. Indeed, the theory itself is fairly intuitive compared against other linguistic theories. It is the typical application of the theory that is less intuitive for the non-specialist. That is why I have preferred here to follow the beginnings of van Wolde's approach.

41 Ronald W. Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar: A Basic Introduction* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), vii.

42 Ellen J. van Wolde, 'Wisdom, Who Can Find It? A Non-Cognitive and Cognitive Study of Job 28: 1–11', in *Job 28: Cognition in Context*, ed. Ellen J. van Wolde, Biblical Interpretation Series 64 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003), 22–23.

43 This is a little like Louw's lexical and contextual meaning, except that this is cognitive and allows for much more information to be drawn upon.

By way of illustration, according to a dictionary-style view of meaning an 'island' would be defined as something like 'a dry land-mass surrounded by water'. Within Cognitive Grammar, however, 'island' simply profiles a dry land-mass. That is what the island is. However, in order to understand the significance of the dry landmass, one must also recognize the base of 'island', which happens to be a body of water surrounding it. For the word 'island' the actual entity being conceptualized is the dry landmass, but inherent to meaning of the word is that this landmass is surrounded by water. It is the fact that this latter information is inherent to the understanding of [ISLAND] that makes it the base.⁴⁴ In order for this profile-base relation to be comprehensible, the interlocutors must share a basic conception of geology, which in this case functions as the cognitive domain, the selection of relevant encyclopaedic knowledge for comprehending the profile and base relationship.

In Cognitive Grammar the profile of a concept, particularly but not exclusively for verbs, can be examined even more closely. For this, let us compare the English words 'seek', 'search', and 'explore'.⁴⁵ When analysing verbs within Cognitive Grammar, one will ask not only about profile, base, and domain, but also about salient participants, usually given as trajectors and landmarks (more figure and ground language).⁴⁶ Trajectors and landmarks are, at least with active and transitive verbs, typically associated with the grammatical subject and the grammatical object of the verb. The trajector of the verb 'seek' will typically be a human being, or at least something sentient. The primary landmark will be the sought entity. Therefore, 'I am seeking an expert linguist', where 'expert linguist' is the primary landmark. There may be secondary landmarks, such as location or means, thus 'I am seeking an expert in Edinburgh, via the internet'. The verb 'search' however, entails something slightly different. The trajector is the same—a sentient being—but the landmark is different. The primary landmark is the location rather than the sought entity. Thus, 'I searched everywhere'. Again, a secondary landmark may be added, such as a sought entity—'I searched everywhere for an expert linguist'. But the arrangement of information is different. Finally, 'explore' has yet a different arrangement. Like 'search', 'explore' has the same trajector and even the same primary

44 This example is borrowed from Taylor, *Cognitive Grammar*, 198–199. If it is unclear, imagine looking at a picture of an island and someone asking, 'where is the island?' Naturally, one would not point to the water, or even to the whole picture. One would point to the bit of land that happens to be surrounded by water.

45 The basis for these examples has been borrowed from Shead, *Radical Frame Semantics*, 196ff.

46 Salient participants in Cognitive Grammar are similar to (core and peripheral) frame elements in Frame Semantics.

landmark, that of location.⁴⁷ Thus, 'she explored the island'. However, 'explore' does not accommodate a sought entity even as a secondary landmark. It would be an ill-formed utterance to say 'she explored the island for a restaurant'. Therefore, it is by distinction of salient participants, or trajectors and landmarks, that one can differentiate between similar verbal concepts.⁴⁸

If these distinctions were not fine enough, one could also describe a verb's meaning by appeal to the temporal process indicated by that verb. For example, the word 'bake', within the cognitive domain of food preparation, may have slightly different concepts associated with it. It depends on which part of the temporal process is being profiled, or brought into focus. In the utterance 'bake a cake' the focus must be on the end of the temporal process. Why? Because a cake, as we know, is not a cake, until it is baked. That is, you would not call the batter or dough that you place in the oven a cake. The landmark 'cake' is a cooked entity. It will become a cake eventually, but only at or toward the end of the temporal process. By contrast, 'bake a potato' has a different connotation. The focus here, rather, is toward the beginning of the procedure. It means to take a potato and to apply dry heat to it until cooked. Because the landmark is an *uncooked* entity, the focus must be towards the beginning of the temporal process, before it becomes cooked. Diagrammatically, these two concepts can be displayed as follows, in keeping with standard Cognitive Grammar style:⁴⁹

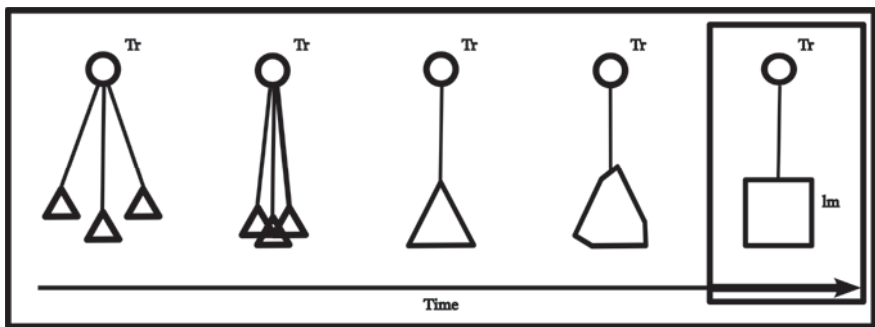


FIGURE 2.1 'Bake a cake'.

47 However, the location landmark in this case would more likely be an *unknown* territory—something that is not marked by the other verbs.

48 This is similar to frame elements, only more simplified.

49 Tr=trajector; lm=landmark.

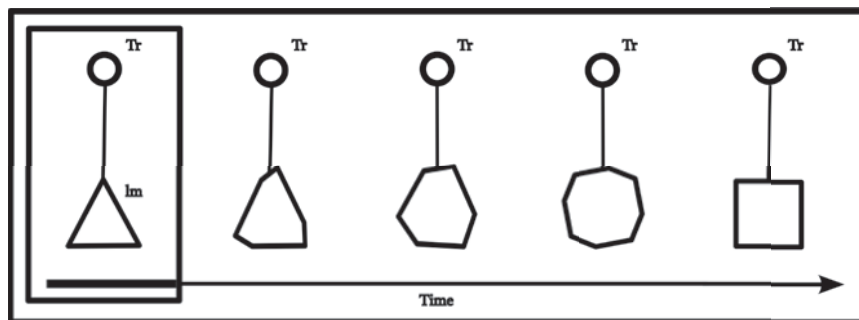


FIGURE 2.2 'Bake a potato'.

The first diagram demonstrates how the trajector takes the ingredients and combines them in the process of creating the final product. The second diagram shows the trajector taking an item and putting it through a process whereby it changes its state. The focus of the first diagram is highlighted by the bold box around the end of the process. The second diagram therefore focuses on the beginning of the process.

Both Frame Semantics and Cognitive Grammar, therefore, have great descriptive value. They both emphasize the need for conceptual analysis, comparing words to their conceptual background, rather than relying solely on structural features of a language. For the purposes of this study, we will follow Cognitive Grammar more closely, primarily because, when used effectively, it has the greatest descriptive power with assuming the least amount of unnecessary specialist knowledge.

3 Toward a Method

To understand a word, according to Cognitive Grammar outlined above, we must understand its profile, base, and cognitive domain relations. Because such relations are inherently conceptual, we must then attempt to access the concepts employed by the authors of the Hebrew Bible. It is clear, however, that the authors of the Hebrew Bible lived in a removed cultural and social milieu from that of much of the present-day world. There is a significant gap between their world and ours. It behoves the modern scholar, then, to fill in whatever can be retrieved of that worldview, that body of encyclopaedic knowledge. Once this retrieval has been achieved, then the Hebrew semanticist can seek to find which bits of encyclopaedic information are relevant for a specific word or utterance, thereby establishing the cognitive domain of the utterance. This

in turn provides the range of possible meanings for the profile and its base. If this is the case, then for the concept [BOIL], for example, we must fill in all the possible details for the cognitive domain of cooking in ancient Palestine.

Naturally, then, to study the meanings of words related to cooking one must account for the encyclopaedic knowledge of language users. However, to explore the meaning of all aspects of cooking in any language, even one as little attested as Biblical Hebrew, would be a massive undertaking. Where would one begin? Cooking involves not only food, but the production process, the preparation process, the cooking process, the serving process, and the consumption and waste process. Each of those processes involves a range of persons, performing a wide variety of activities, at different times of the year, month, and even day. Each of these activities also entails using an assortment of tools, utensils, and other equipment, all of which requires production/purchase and maintenance. Moreover, all of the above comes with a bewildering array of social norms. A comprehensive coverage of what cooking means would necessarily include all of these things. Given the sheer volume of such data, it is not practical to attempt to cover it all here. Instead, what I will attempt here is actually to access the meaning of cooking primarily via the verbs of the cooking process.

There are two reasons for choosing the verbs of cooking as the focus of this study. First, pragmatically speaking, one must delimit the range of words being investigated somehow. Second, verbs naturally involve a lot of moving pieces. One cannot 'boil' without involving someone performing the action, a heat source, a container, and some liquid item in the container. Therefore, analysing 'boil' entails analysing these other elements as well. 'Boil' functions as the focal point, around which this constellation of elements revolves. By contrast, if one were to use 'pot' as the focal point, the connections to other elements would be more distant. That is, a pot does not need a cook to be a pot, nor does it need liquid inside it to fulfil its 'pot-ness'. Of course, one might suggest that a pot is intended for cooking and therefore connects to all the above mentioned elements this way. The point, however, is that verbs of cooking, unlike most other of these elements, directly involve a constellation of elements. How this happens will be determined later. For the moment, it suffices to say that verbs provide the entry point, our way in to the semantics of cooking.

How, then, are we to set about analysing words, in this case verbs? As was shown in the literature review, this analysis must be cognitive in its approach. It is no longer adequate to discuss words only by means of cognate languages, or by root derivation, or even by means of syntagmatic and paradigmatic comparisons. All these things are valid enterprises in their own right, but they can no longer claim that they hold the key to meaning as such. Instead, where

possible, the semanticist must account for the cognitive world of the language user. When an ancient Israelite used the word 'bake', what associations came to mind? What were the facilities for baking; what kind of food was baked; who typically did the baking, etc.? This reality, external to the structure of the language itself, is essential for grasping the meaning of words (or, if I may, grasping the meanings for which people uttered words).⁵⁰

Stephen Shead's *Radical Frame Semantics and Biblical Hebrew: Exploring Lexical Semantics* takes this conceptual world of the language user seriously. He clearly asserts that 'it is simply inconceivable that our general world knowledge and bodily experience could be excluded from the lexical (or 'linguistic') meaning of a word'.⁵¹ He maintains that the responsible way to account for such general world knowledge is via Frame Semantics. However, he alters this standard approach borrowed from Fillmore, mainly with the aim of adding some necessary nuancing.⁵² In doing so, Shead has great success. He thoroughly examines the Hebrew verbs of searching and exploration (חקר, חפש, תור, רגל, בחן, בקש, and דרש), but he does so only after establishing the nature of search-type concepts. These concepts, not bound to the Hebrew language, are described in terms of their valency (what frame elements are required) and their temporal profiles. He illustrates these concepts by appeal to biblical texts, even though the concepts are not language-specific. Once he has done this, he then goes on to present the various lexemes related to searching in the Hebrew Bible. In doing so, he spends the greatest amount of time looking at חקר, evaluating its uses in the Hebrew Bible, its translations into the Septuagint, and possible parallels in the MT. In much less detail, he then discusses the remaining lexemes and compares them to what has been learned of חקר. Finally, he systematically reviews the various searching frames discussed earlier and attempts to line them up with the concepts represented by these Hebrew lexemes.

Shead's work is extremely thorough, and has a great deal to add to the discussion of biblical semantics. The chief problem of his work, as is regularly seen in linguistic materials, is that it is incredibly complex. Even looking at his table of contents is overwhelming. It is hard to imagine any biblical scholar not already keenly interested in cognitive linguistics managing to find his or

50 This reflects a commonly held perspective in cognitive semantics whereby words do not have meanings, meanings have words. That is, words are the linguistic vehicles for meaning, but they do not have meaning in and of themselves.

51 Shead, *Radical Frame Semantics*, 42.

52 For example, he suggests that Fillmore's core and peripheral frame elements are divided in too binary a fashion. They ought to be on a graded scale, he argues. *Ibid.*, 148.

her way through this material, let alone the table of contents. Shead's is a very good work, but it is doubtful that it will receive much attention in the broader world of biblical studies.⁵³

The other monograph that takes the conceptual world seriously in establishing word meanings is van Wolde's *Reframing Biblical Studies: When Language and Text Meet Culture, Cognition, and Context*.⁵⁴ Van Wolde, for her part, employs the principles of Langacker's Cognitive Grammar to Biblical Hebrew and the world of its users. She ably adapts the categories of profile, base, and domain to an ancient language and does so with great exegetical insight. Her topics range from creating/dividing (Hebrew ברא), to the moon, anger, gates, and ultimately defilement. However, each of these serves as an illustration of what she sees as the new direction for biblical studies. This new direction must take cognitive studies into account. Words can only be understood in tandem with the concepts they represent. Therefore, she spells out her interpretation of Langacker's Cognitive Grammar (leaning heavily on the work of John Taylor) and how it applies to Biblical Hebrew. At the outset this appears promising. She offers new vision, new insights, and inspires the reader to think differently. Soon, however, the reader notices that this is no simple affair. Terminology multiplies and minutiae magnify. What seemed so promising at the beginning now seems an unbearable linguistic burden, leaving the reader longing for the days of structuralist simplicity. Again, as with Shead, this is not to say that there is no value in this work. In fact, it is quite the opposite. There is much that can be gleaned from van Wolde's monograph, and much that in fact ought to be heard by a broad scholarly community. It is, therefore, unfortunate that the packaging is so difficult to unwrap.⁵⁵

For the present, the chief task is to draw out what is essential from van Wolde's work, and therefore also from Cognitive Grammar itself and apply it in a way that is both challenging and inviting. To that end, one of van Wolde's most significant contributions, as far as the current study is concerned, is the list of questions she asks of any verb she encounters in a text:

53 For a lengthier review, see Kurtis Peters, 'Review of *Radical Frame Semantics and Biblical Hebrew: Exploring Lexical Semantics*, by Stephen Shead', *The Reviews of Biblical and Early Christian Studies* 6, no. 25 (2013), <<http://rbecs.org/2013/06/25/rfsbh/>>.

54 Van Wolde, *Reframing Biblical Studies*.

55 For a lengthier review, see Kurtis Peters, 'Review of *Reframing Biblical Studies: When Language and Text Meet Culture, Cognition, and Context*, by Ellen van Wolde', *The Reviews of Biblical and Early Christian Studies* 4, no. 23 (2013), <<http://rbecs.org/2013/04/23/rbs/>>.

1. What is the cognitive domain against which the action/state and its participants stand out?
2. Does the verb designate a single summary stage or a series of sequential stages over time; that is to say, does it constitute a simple configuration or a complex configuration?
3. What is the set of salient participants?
4. Is there one or are there two (or more) landmarks in the construal? Those with higher salience will be called primary landmarks; those with lower salience, secondary (etc.) landmarks.
5. What is the relationship between the trajector and the landmark(s) involved?
6. What is the trajector's beginning point vis-à-vis the landmark(s)?
7. What is the trajector's end point vis-à-vis the landmark(s)?
8. What is the purpose and the focal area of use; is it the process itself or the resulting event?⁵⁶

The first question is simple enough: what is the cognitive domain? The rest of the questions pertain to the complexity of profile-base relations in verbs. Question two asks if a verb profiles a summary or a sequence. Does it profile an unchanging reality, or a change of some sort? Historically, this distinction has been approximated with the categories of active and stative verbs in Biblical Hebrew.⁵⁷ For this van Wolde chooses to move away from the traditional grammar and its dependence upon morphology and designates the poles as being stative and dynamic. These find a better fit in Cognitive Grammar and have a greater explanatory capability for the meaning of a verb. Van Wolde's third question relates to salient participants. What other linguistic units are expected by the use of this verb? This nicely parallels with 'frame elements' as given in Frame Semantics. Shead, as mentioned, discusses the difference between the concepts [SEEK] and [SEARCH], where the former primarily is concerned with a sought entity, and may or may not specify the area wherein that entity is sought (eg. 'He sought his keys (in the house)'), and the latter specifies the area searched more prominently than the sought entity (eg. 'He searched the whole house (for his keys)'). Both of these examples specify the

⁵⁶ Van Wolde, *Reframing Biblical Studies*, 182.

⁵⁷ This distinction in traditional grammar does not hold absolutely. Though the Hebrew verb הִיךָ is marked as an active verb by its morphology, it also can describe a state, depending on context.

seeker/searcher.⁵⁸ The elements that each concept requires are considered to be core frame elements. Those that may be deleted without making the utterance incomprehensible are considered to be peripheral frame elements. Therefore, comparing this notion to van Wolde's question three, the set of salient participants is equal to the whole range of frame elements, from core to peripheral. For the current study this would entail examining the salient participants for [BOIL]. One would expect that this would entail at least a cook and a food item, and may also include a container and perhaps a liquid in which the food item is cooked.

Van Wolde's questions four through seven consider the relationship between the various salient participants. She demonstrates, within the sphere of Cognitive Grammar, that each verb (in fact, most words other than nouns) profiles a trajector and a landmark.⁵⁹ Usually, this coincides with a grammatical subject and either a direct or indirect object, though that is not always the case. More importantly, the trajector is the primary focus of attention and the landmark is secondary in focus.⁶⁰ The verb 'leave', for example, profiles a trajector (person/thing leaving) and the landmark (the area that the trajector is leaving).⁶¹ Given this knowledge, her fourth question is clear enough: how many landmarks are there and what is their ranking in terms of salience for the verbal meaning? The fifth question then asks what the trajector does in relationship to the landmark, i.e. what do they have to do with one another? Questions six and seven presume a dynamic verb, in which there is a change over time in the relationship between the trajector and landmark(s). In the verb 'leave' the trajector would begin the process within the landmark (a person might be inside a house) and would finish the process outside and perhaps far from the landmark (the person would now be outside the house and maybe far away). These two questions then ask merely about the beginning and end point of the processes in order to explain the process as a whole. Van Wolde's final question regards the primary focus of a verb. Do [SEEK] and [EXPLORE] have the same purpose or result? The former seems rather to have a purpose

58 Shead, *Radical Frame Semantics*, 202. English examples are my own.

59 Van Wolde, *Reframing Biblical Studies*, 106–107. Here she distinguishes between nominal profiles, which do not specify a trajector and a landmark, and relational profiles (most non-noun forms) that do.

60 *Ibid.*, 106.

61 *Ibid.*, 174.

of finding an object, whereas the intended result of the latter would be to be familiar with an area.⁶²

4 Method

Van Wolde has here provided a very helpful diagnostic tool by which to analyse verbs. It is therefore with an adapted version of this structure that I will proceed in the following chapters. My structure, while essentially consisting of the same content as her questions above, will be laid out as follows, in accordance with a narrowing in of concentric circles of context from world knowledge to particular words:⁶³

1. Establish encyclopaedic knowledge
2. Establish the cognitive domain
3. Establish the profile-base relation

4.1 *Establish Encyclopaedic Knowledge*

Encyclopaedic knowledge is a difficult subject to cover. How can we say everything that an ancient Hebrew speaker would have known with respect to cooking? There is no way that we can exhaustively account for this. But it is not, however, entirely hopeless. Instead, we can plumb the depths of archaeological and anthropological knowledge of cooking in ancient Palestine and perhaps, in filling in some of the picture, we will reveal important information for understanding the meaning behind cooking verbs. This foray into the archaeological and anthropological information will not entail any new study in itself, but will rather summarize what is already present in the scholarly literature. At times this will simply require repetition of scholarly consensus and at times arbitrating between disagreements. Nevertheless, the bulk of this material will not be new in and of itself. What will be new is the fact that it will be brought all into one place. The major categories covered will be: the physical context for cooking, the identity and description of actors in the cooking scenario, the description of commonly consumed food items, and the description of material culture used in the cooking process. Finally, these will all be synthesized into a description of the cooking processes themselves. We have, therefore:

62 Ibid., 183–184.

63 This is admittedly a simplification. It will be elaborated below.

1. Establish encyclopaedic knowledge
 - a. Physical context
 - b. Actors
 - c. Food
 - d. Material culture
 - e. Cooking Processes
2. Establish the cognitive domain
3. Establish the profile-base relation

4.2 *Establish Cognitive Domain*

Establishing the cognitive domain for a word can be a difficult process. One of the most effective ways for doing so would be a critical reading of a word's collocations. If one were to discover that אפה is regularly surrounded by lexemes representing food preparation (oven, dough, leaven, etc.), then one can likely assume that the cognitive domain for אפה, when used prototypically, is [FOOD PREPARATION]. However, for this study, we are not first and foremost concerned to ask what אפה means. Instead, we are asking what cooking means, and therefore, what we can say about the cognitive domain of [FOOD PREPARATION]. Therefore, by virtue of the research question the cognitive domain for this study is fixed. We have only to determine how the verbal lexemes and their concepts relate to this domain.

Therefore, we now have the following structure:

1. Establish encyclopaedic knowledge
 - a. Physical context
 - b. Actors
 - c. Food
 - d. Material culture
 - e. Cooking Processes
2. Establish the cognitive domain ([FOOD PREPARATION]—fixed by research question)
3. Establish the profile-base relation

4.3 *Establish the Profile-Base Relation*

Before actually establishing profiles and bases of concepts, one first must lay out which lexemes are being discussed, and what we already know of them. As such, I will arrange this section first by lexemes. Under each lexeme will be two sections, the first of which is concerned to explain relevant data regarding cognate information, translation into versions, if the lexeme has any problematic features for identification (is it confused with another homonymous

root, etc.?), and its general distribution in the Hebrew Bible. In many ways, this first section is structuralist, at least in a minimal way. It will, however, not be exhaustive in its data, but will rather present only the data that may be relevant for consideration of the concepts that follow.⁶⁴

This brings us to the second section under each lexeme—the concepts. Each lexeme may have one or more concepts listed underneath it. Here the main task is to determine the profile and the base of each concept. In order to establish the specific profile-base relation, I will use, to a degree, what van Wolde suggests in her above questions two through eight. I will ask of the concepts whether the respective verb designates a summary stage or a series of sequential stages. I anticipate that the verbs of cooking will primarily, if not exclusively, be of a sequential nature. The food item will undergo a change from the beginning of the process even to the end. I will also ask about the salient participants, or what Frame Semantics calls frame elements. What conceptual entities are required by the verb? Which acts as a trajector and which as landmark(s)? What is the relationship between the trajector and landmark(s)? What is the beginning and end point for the trajector vis-à-vis the landmark(s)? This will be illustrated by means of a temporal process diagram for each concept. Further, I will outline the purpose and focal area of the verb's use. I anticipate that these verbs will profile both a result as well as a manner, in keeping with evidence from English for verbs such as 'broil', 'braise' etc.⁶⁵ However, this will depend on the quality of the verb and how specific or generic it is. If there is a verb such as the English 'cook', then perhaps the manner may not be specified.

Not only will these features aid in explaining each concept, but they will also serve to divide concepts from one another. That is, in the same way that 'bake a potato' and 'bake a cake' represent different concepts associated with 'bake', so also will some Hebrew lexemes do double duty for multiple related concepts. The way to distinguish them is by virtue of their temporal profile, landmarks, etc. If they exhibit a different constellation of conceptual information, then they must represent different concepts, albeit closely related ones.

In explaining the nature of each concept, it will be necessary also to provide examples from the Hebrew Bible. These will be interspersed among the general explanation, but will also receive a separate mention toward the end. Clear examples of a concept will be listed first. Following this there will be a

64 That is, as structuralist data ought to do, it merely provides more raw data. Cognitive Linguistics has to gather it along with other kinds of data to fill out the picture of meaning.

65 John Beavers and Andrew Koontz-Garboden, 'Manner and Result in the Roots of Verbal Meaning', *Linguistic Inquiry* 43, no. 3 (2012): 351–353.

section detailing unclear cases, if they exist. Here will be the opportunity to provide short exegeses of texts in order to justify placing that occurrence of the lexeme under the given concept. If the exegesis is too complicated, it will be postponed until the exegetical contributions chapter.

Therefore, we are left with the arrangement:

1. Establish encyclopaedic knowledge
 - a. Physical context
 - b. Actors
 - c. Food
 - d. Material culture
 - e. Cooking Processes
2. Establish the cognitive domain ([FOOD PREPARATION]—fixed by research question)
3. Establish the profile-base relation
 - a. Lexical data
 - i. Distribution, cognate information, version evidence, etc.
 - b. Conceptual data
 - i. Salient participants, landmarks, temporal profile, etc.
 - ii. Distribution of concept
 1. Clear cases
 2. Unclear cases

With this structure I will proceed to the following chapters. The next chapter will be devoted entirely to the first section, establishing encyclopaedic knowledge. Chapter four will engage with the second and third sections of this outline. Chapter five will serve to gather up some of the data to make general observations about the meaning of cooking. And a final chapter will follow where I will apply the insights gained in this analysis to the exegesis of several texts of the Hebrew Bible.

Lived Backgrounds

As established in the foregoing chapters, it is imperative that any account of cooking vocabulary must reckon, as much as possible, with the realities of cooking as they existed for the language users. As such, this chapter is dedicated primarily to describing what is known of cooking practices in ancient Palestine, as shown by archaeology and ethnoarchaeology.¹ This is to account for the encyclopaedic knowledge related to the language of cooking employed in the Hebrew Bible. Since, however, there is no way to account for everything that any ancient Israelite would have associated with cooking, the best that can be offered here is a coverage of those areas of daily life that may plausibly have been connected, in some way, to cooking. That is, this chapter will ask questions regarding the physical context for cooking, the actors in such activities and their other responsibilities, the description of items cooked, the material means by which the food was cooked, and finally the cooking activities themselves. These data will be presented after the following manner:

1. Physical context for cooking activities
 - a. Description of various settlements
 - b. Description of house-style and arrangement
 - c. Location of various activities
2. Identity and description of actors
 - a. Who cooks/prepares food
 - b. Other responsibilities of these persons
3. Description of food items
 - a. Ingredients and their sources
 - b. Particular foodstuffs/meals created

¹ Much of the information in this chapter can be found in many of the following sources, though I have chosen usually only to cite one or two representative texts at the relevant points: Shafer-Elliott, *Food in Ancient Judah*; William G. Dever, *The Lives of Ordinary People: Where Archaeology and the Bible Intersect* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012); MacDonald, *What Did the Ancient Israelites Eat?*; Borowski, *Daily Life*; King and Stager, *Life*; Carol L. Meyers, 'Where the Girls Are: Archaeology and Women's Lives in Ancient Israel', in *Between Text and Artifact: Integrating Archaeology in Biblical Studies Teaching*, *Archaeology and Biblical Studies* 8 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 31–51; Meyers, 'Everyday Life'; Meyers, *Discovering Eve*; Curtis, *Ancient Food Technology*.

4. Identity and description of material culture
 - a. Cooking installations
 - b. Cooking utensils/vessels
 - c. Serving and Storing
5. Cooking processes
 - a. Baking bread
 - b. Making pottage
 - c. Other cooking activities

Finally, it is important to note that the information found in this chapter is not completely new to scholarship. What this chapter contributes is a shaping of the data in a meaningful way, so as to describe the world of cooking insofar as is possible.

1 Physical Context of Cooking Activities

1.1 *Description of Various Settlements*

A small variety of settlement patterns existed in the period of Israelite settlement in Palestine. The argument over how to classify these various patterns has been well documented by Shafer-Elliott in the second chapter of her 2013 monograph *Food in Ancient Judah: Domestic Cooking in the Time of the Hebrew Bible*.² The present concern is not with the classification of settlement types, as with Shafer-Elliott, but rather the description of the layout of settlements so as to provide a physical context for the Israelite house and for Israelite cooking. As such, we can describe a few types more generally: major urban centres, walled towns, rural villages/farmsteads, and semi-nomadic settlements. However, because they leave nearly no material trace, the semi-nomadic settlements can only be treated by ethnographic comparison, and will therefore receive less attention.

On the spectrum of urban centres through to rural farmsteads, one can observe a predictable pattern where the former are typically arranged in a fairly tight formation, with houses built into one another or into the city wall and dedicated streets or lanes throughout, while the latter are generally less restricted in their layout, often without discernible streets or lanes, perhaps consisting simply of houses surrounding a central courtyard, and typically

² Shafer-Elliott, *Food in Ancient Judah*, 33–58.

with minimal fortification at best.³ The more significant a town or city is, however, the more impressive the fortification system tends to be. In such towns or cities, archaeologists have also often discovered whole subterranean water systems within the fortifications designed to give inhabitants continued access to water close by, whether during a siege or not.⁴ By contrast, the farmsteads and smaller villages did not typically have these large-scale formal arrangements, and water would be gotten simply from the nearest spring, pool, well or cistern. In the urban centres, it has also been noted that ovens are frequently found in open or communal areas, and these are usually larger than those found within the houses, all of which suggests that baking was often an activity done not in seclusion but rather in community, at least during the dry season.⁵ Interestingly, urban centres, as time passed, appear to have been slowly vacated of the residential population and became increasingly dedicated to the administration of the state.⁶

Fortification and population density are not the only categories for describing settlements that may have affected the daily practices of cooking. Settlements can also be categorized on the basis of their geographical location. Different regions provide quick and easy access to different types of food. Those settlements on the southern part of the coastal plain, which primarily belonged to the Philistine population,⁷ had access to warm weather, open

3 For a description of the spectrum from the simplest to most complex settlement patterns, see Ze'ev Herzog, *Archaeology of the City: Urban Planning in Ancient Israel and Its Social Implications*, Tel Aviv University: Sonia and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology Monograph Series 13 (Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Archaeology Press, 1997), 210–211. Herzog demonstrates two (among many) excellent representative examples of city layouts. The first is Tel en-Nasbeh (biblical Mizpah), pp. 237–239, which exhibited natural growth into an administrative centre in Iron IIB. Because the growth was natural, the city's layout is organic, dense, and has winding narrow lanes. Tel Beersheba, however, pp. 244–247, has an altogether different layout in the Iron IIB. It is a pre-planned city, with dedicated streets, and buildings constructed after an observable pattern.

4 For example, see the water systems at Hazor, Megiddo, Beersheba and Jerusalem. The last of these receives mention in the records of Hezekiah's preparations before the invasion of Sennacherib of Assyria in 701 BCE (2 Kings 20:20; 2 Chronicles 32:30).

5 Carol L. Meyers, 'Having Their Space and Eating There Too: Bread Production and Female Power in Ancient Israelite Households', *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies & Gender Issues* 5 (2002): 23. For the argument that this was done in the dry season, see the section below on the identity of the actors.

6 Herzog, *Archaeology of the City*, 234–235, 276.

7 To use the term "Philistine" is interpretive of the data. The data generally shows an obvious discontinuity in material culture between the inhabitants of the coastal plain and those of the hinterland. It is generally taken for granted that this indicated a different people group,

flat land, rich soil having been eroded and washed down from the hills, and thus had prime conditions for grain production, as well as vineyards and olive orchards at the edge of the hills.⁸ Because the Mediterranean Sea was close at hand and because the international coastal highway ran through the plain, the southern coastal plain saw heavy commercial traffic and thus would in all probability also have traded in many different types of goods, including food items. The northernmost parts of the coastland held some of the great sea ports, but did not have nearly the same access to cultivable land. Instead, timber was in good supply, the better for trade and for building ships.⁹ The low hills, or the *Shephelah*, which neighboured the coastal plain were characterized not only by their low rolling hills, but also by the broad valleys in between them. The valleys were ideal locations again for grain, as well as grape and olive production. The *Shephelah* was often contested between the peoples from the coast and those from the hill country beyond it, with some settlements showing the material culture of one of these peoples in one period and then of the other people in the next period. The hills themselves provided the ridge routes necessary for movement between the higher hills and the coast and these routes in turn enabled food and other goods to make their way from the coastal highway into the higher hill country behind.

The central hill country, c.1000 metres at its highest, stretched approximately from near Hebron in the South to the Jezreel valley in the North, and generally consisted of steep hills and deep v-shaped valleys, particularly in the area surrounding Jerusalem.¹⁰ The bottoms of these valleys were not usually cultivated, but the hills lent themselves to the production of olives and grapes, often in terraces on the steeper hills. These terraces also allowed the inhabitants to retain some moisture in the soil before it ran down into the valleys and then out to the coast in the west or the Jordan valley in the east.¹¹ With a bit of moisture captured in the soil, inhabitants could also plant other crops, though grain crops did not fare well in the hills near Jerusalem except in isolated val-

one that has long been identified with the Philistines known from a variety of sources. For lack of a better identification, I will continue to use this name for the inhabitants of the coastal plain. Cf. Rainey below, especially p. 130.

8 Rainey, *The Sacred Bridge*, 38.

9 Ibid., 37.

10 Ibid., 39.

11 Hopkins, 'Life on the Land', 184–185. Hopkins, it should be noted, is cautious about assuming that terraces were widespread in the early days of the Iron Age, mostly due to the intensity of labour that they require. Settlers in small communities would have taken a long time to develop terraces, though they undoubtedly increased throughout the Iron Age.

leys. Furthermore, the hill country, in contrast to the previous two regions to the west, is where the majority of the rainfall occurred.¹² As the hill country was made of porous but hard limestone, this water would store well in aquifers as well as in human-made cisterns. Settlements here were relatively few and far between until the Iron Age, when there was a significant influx of the population.

To the east of the hill country was the steppe-land that descended rapidly to the level of several hundred metres below sea level. It was generally quite arid, with the hills to the west creating a rain shadow effect, though there are some deep, narrow ravines in whose bottoms ran some water trickling out of the hills. In the winter, there was enough moisture for small vegetation to grow on the hills, particularly on those facing north, away from the sun, and therefore these hills could sustain flocks of sheep and goats for part of the year.¹³ Permanent settlements were rare in this area, though semi-nomadic shepherds may have settled in one place while they kept their flocks there for winter pasturage.¹⁴ The land to the south of the hill country, the biblical Negev, was similarly a steppe-land and good for pasturage, though its added benefit was that it occupied a trade route and thus had access to goods from elsewhere, including the spice trade coming through Arabia.¹⁵

The Rift Valley entered the land from Lebanon in the North, near Mount Hermon and continued through the Sea of Galilee, the Jordan River, the Dead Sea and on toward the Red Sea and beyond. In the northern sections, with the fresh waters from the nearby mountains, this valley provided for an abundance of agriculture of all sorts. It was also very warm and, along the Jordan, could have supported an industry of date palms and other warm weather fruit trees. However, this section, from Galilee to the Dead Sea, got very little rainfall, and so settlements were less common and were found usually at oases such as Jericho. From the Dead Sea southward the geography and climate did not afford much by way of settlements, and therefore little needs to be said here.

Other regions can be analysed by comparison to those mentioned above. Galilee as well had sections with broad valleys and fertile lands, quite like the *Shephelah*, as well as difficult-to-access hills, like the southern hills, where vineyards and the like could thrive. To the east of the Jordan one can observe a general trend of high soil fertility and excellent grain crops in the north, in

12 Rainey, *The Sacred Bridge*, 42.

13 See Photo 1 in the appendix.

14 Rainey, *The Sacred Bridge*, 39.

15 Ibid., 40.

Bashan, changing to high aridity in Edom to the south. Gilead, roughly central by this designation, is very similar to the hill country west of the Jordan.

As mentioned above, water was usually available to people by several means. It could be a public water system, like a massive chamber as seen at Hazor, Megiddo and others.¹⁶ It could also have been a local spring, as at 'Ein Gedi. In these cases, people would bring their vessels down to the water and carry it back to their houses for domestic use. Similar would have been the use of wells and small cisterns. Some settlements, particularly those where the water table was high enough, would have had wells. In the biblical account, such a situation is depicted with respect to the Negev, where the patriarchs and matriarchs spent a great deal of their time.¹⁷ Archaeologists have also discovered private cisterns, meant for catching rain water and storing it for use in the dry season. They were often shaped like a bottle or a bell. Depending on the type of bed-rock, they may have been lined with plaster, to keep the water from seeping out. They would have also collected a certain degree of filth in the bottom of them throughout the course of a year.¹⁸ These cisterns appear also to have been used for imprisoning people, such as Jeremiah, who sank into the 'mud' at the bottom of the cistern in which there was no more water, likely because it was nearing the end of the dry season.¹⁹

1.2 *Description of House-Style and Arrangement*

In ancient Israelite settlements, beginning in the 13th century BCE, one housing style began to predominate.²⁰ This style is known variously as 'Four-Room House', or the 'Israelite House', or the 'Pillared Dwelling', none of which is an entirely accurate description for every occurrence of this dwelling type; some have three, or even two rooms; some, though few, are found within non-Israelite settlements; and some are not marked by pillars at all.²¹ How then, does one describe them? Hardin offers a helpful description:

They normally—in fact almost exclusively—comprise a rectangular or rectilinear compound with a broad, narrow room or rooms set across its

16 Hazor's water chamber was dug right down to the water table, whereas Megiddo's system was connected to an underground spring. King and Stager, *Life*, 211–213.

17 For an insightful analysis of the use, location and construction of wells, see *ibid.*, 123–126. For an Iron Age well within a fortified southern town, see Tel Lachish.

18 *Ibid.*, 126–127.

19 Jeremiah 38.

20 Dever, *Ordinary People*, 128–129.

21 For a drawing of one such ground floor found at Tel Halif, see figure 3.1 in the appendix.

rear and either two or three long, narrow rooms extending perpendicularly through the remaining space. . . . These long rooms are characteristically separated by a row of two to four pillars, and the entrance to the compound was usually gained through one of them. . . .²²

All of the above is related primarily to the study of the ground floor of these dwellings. Scholars generally assume that a upper floor was also in existence, but remains of these upper floors are scant at best.²³ In addition to the indoor spaces, the roof provided another flat, open living and working space.²⁴

1.3 *Location of Various Activities*

The broad rooms stretched across the back of the dwelling were likely used for heavy storage, containing variously:

. . . young animals, bulk quantities of wine and oil, fodder, grains and legumes, reserved seed grain, straw, dung, twigs and dung cakes (the primary fuel source), pottery vessels not in use, timbers, raw materials for craft production, and a plow, yoke, and other farm implements.²⁵

In one of the long side rooms the domestic animals would typically have had their nightly shelter, for when they were not out at pasture. Despite the smell that the animals surely gave off, it was beneficial to have them indoors during the cold season, simply for the amount of extra heat they provided for the household.²⁶ These animals would have had their bedding underfoot, likely chaff, which would absorb some of their urine, and whatever was not absorbed would wash away through the cracks in the flooring.²⁷ The cobbled nature of the floor further allowed it to be mucked out regularly, which consisted of getting rid of the soiled bedding as well as gathering from it any dung to be used for heating.²⁸

22 Hardin, *Lahav II*, 16.

23 Holladay, 'Home Economics', 68–70; Dever, *Ordinary People*, 128, 159–160; Hardin, *Lahav II*, 48.

24 For drawings of such houses from the outside, with possible upper floor reconstructions, see figures 3.2 and 3.3 in the appendix.

25 Holladay, 'Four-Room House', 339.

26 Ebeling, *Women's Lives*, 35; Stager, 'Archaeology', 12.

27 Stager, 'Archaeology', 14; Hardin, *Lahav II*, 51.

28 Dever, *Ordinary People*, 164.

The other long room(s) in the house, or an adjacent courtyard, were where the two most important routine domestic activities took place: clothing production and food preparation.²⁹ The variance between these two locations, either inside or immediately outside the house, is due to practical factors of the changes in seasons and temperatures throughout the year. In the summer heat it was too warm to bake indoors, and so the courtyard is preferable. Conversely, in the cool winters the household would have welcomed the extra heat from the ovens.³⁰ These rooms, unlike the room used for keeping the animals, had hard-packed earth for their flooring in most cases, with the possibility that they were surfaced with a thin white plaster.³¹

The excavation of ovens and their surrounding areas, where cloth and other weaving-type remains were found regularly next to cooking installations in domestic settings, shows that clothing production and food preparation were usually performed in close proximity to one another; whichever season-dependent location was chosen for baking was therefore also the location for making clothing.³² Given the fact that making bread requires a considerable amount of time each day, involving grinding grain, mixing dough, letting it rise near the fire, and finally baking it, it is no surprise to find that the other primary domestic activity happened close by. As such, the actors presumably alternated between the two tasks, depending on the points when the baking required the most attention.

Despite the scant remains of the upper floor, scholars can suggest with a high degree of confidence those activities which would routinely have taken place there. It was, in all probability, the living space for the residents.³³ The ground floor, given its appropriation for storage, stabling, folding, and baking, did not provide enough area needed for the social needs of the family, nor for

29 Holladay, 'House, Israelite', 309; The literature on the typical house plan is misleading at times when they refer to a 'courtyard.' For some it meant an unroofed space outside the entrance to the dwelling, while for others, as in Dever, *Ordinary People*, 159, the 'courtyard' is the central long room on the ground floor, which was possibly unroofed. Nevertheless, cooking can be seen to take place in either of these 'courtyards' or indeed in another side room, as Dever also here suggests with reference to the location of ovens. I will use 'courtyard' to mean an outdoor space, not one of the long rooms.

30 Aubrey Baadsgaard, 'A Taste of Women's Sociality: Cooking as Cooperative Labor in Iron Age Syro-Palestine', in *The World of Women in the Ancient and Classical Near East*, ed. Beth Alpert Nakhai (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 24, 29.

31 Holladay, 'Four-Room House', 338.

32 Baadsgaard, 'Women's Sociality', 30, 41–42; For a brief and basic overview of weaving practice, see Dever, *Ordinary People*, 188–189.

33 Holladay, 'Four-Room House', 339.

their sleeping.³⁴ Therefore, on this upper floor one can expect that the family ate, slept, entertained guests, and may have had some light storage and perhaps a small cooking area as well.³⁵

The roof is an even more difficult living area to assess on strict archaeological grounds. If, however, one takes account of what material remains there are and compares them with evidence gathered from ethnographic studies, a picture begins to emerge. The roof is known to have been made of mud plaster together with branches and twigs laid over wooden beams.³⁶ It formed an open space, much like the houses compared in ethnographic studies based in western Iran. In both western Iran and ancient Israel, the main economic domain (storage, animal quarters, etc.) and the main living domain of the house were kept relatively separate.³⁷ In ancient Israel this meant that the former was on the ground floor and the latter was on the floor above. This leaves the roof as the remaining household space. In Iran, this was an open space that was used for drying, processing, and storing food in good weather. It was also a place to air out laundry and even a place to sleep when the weather made the interior of the house uncomfortably warm.³⁸ The very fact that the rooftop was the best access both to sunlight and to a breeze, suggests that one may look for the same or similar practices regarding this space among ancient Israelites. Though it is perhaps impossible to confirm the comparison with absolute certainty, it is at least reasonable to side with Dever and others, who draw such parallels to Iron Age Israel.³⁹

2 Identity and Description of Actors

2.1 *Who Cooks/Prepares Food*

The division of labour in Iron Age Palestine is somewhat predictable. The men and older boys generally worked outside the home, either tending to the domestic animals, or working in the fields. Women, on the other hand, cared

34 Holladay, 'House, Israelite', 316.

35 Holladay, 'Home Economics', 68–69; See also commentaries on 2 Samuel 13 that suggest Amnon's room is within sight of a cooking area: A. A. Anderson, *2 Samuel*, Word Biblical Commentary 11 (Dallas: Word Books, 1989), 174; Robert P. Gordon, *1 & 2 Samuel: A Commentary* (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1986), 263.

36 Dever, *Ordinary People*, 178.

37 Holladay, 'House, Israelite', 312–314.

38 *Ibid.*, 315.

39 Dever, *Ordinary People*, 178. For a drawing of a reconstructed house complete with illustrations of daily activities, see figure 3.4 in the appendix.

for the activities of the home, including food preparation, weaving, and most other household chores.⁴⁰ However, Meyers and others are quick to point out that the modern reader must be careful not to assume that this structure was an oppressive one, or even one where males held power over all decision-making for the family. Especially in the early Iron Age, when the Israelite communities were said to have been still rooting themselves in the land and before the monarchy had become firmly established, the relationship between the work of men and of women was cooperative, each having their own sphere of authority.⁴¹ In early Israel, during the settling and expansion within the hill country, men's activities included clearing new fields of undergrowth, hewing cisterns, building homes, constructing terraces, making and maintaining tools, and perhaps the initial sowing of crops. Because women were regularly nursing or caring for young children, it meant that they were not easily able to spend long hours away from the home. However, at harvest, Meyers argues, all hands were needed and so even the women would participate in such field work. When they were in the home, women's tasks likely included maintaining the home, caring for young children, tending gardens and small animals and producing both textiles and the bulk of the food for the family.⁴² This distribution of labour is, no doubt, more applicable to contexts where subsistence agriculture was the way of life. The degree of difference from this setting, perhaps on a rural farmstead, and an urban setting is unclear.

What were the relationships between those women who were participating in these daily activities of the home? In all probability, they were not all of the same nuclear family. As Stager has convincingly shown, the ancient Israelite household was modelled after the *בֵּית־אָב*, the 'house of the father'. According to this structure, the household arrangement is centred upon the oldest living male. Therefore, all others living in the home can be described in relation to this patriarch.⁴³ In all likelihood, then, the women present in the home included the wife of the patriarch, the wives of married sons, and any unmarried female relatives of the patriarch under which would fall perhaps the widowed mother, unmarried or widowed aunts or sisters, as well as any unmarried daughters. Though the age at which women were married off is difficult to ascertain, it is reasonable to suggest that it was during their teenage

40 Ibid., 173.

41 Baadsgaard, 'Women's Sociality', 42; Meyers, 'Women and the Domestic Economy of Early Israel', 36.

42 Meyers, 'The Family in Early Israel', 24–25.

43 Stager, 'Archaeology', 20; Ebeling, *Women's Lives*, 80.

years, at the age when they became able to bear children.⁴⁴ Therefore, it is probable that girls in the household who are pre-adolescent would be of a blood relationship to the family, whereas the young women in the home would be those who have come from a different family, likely from the same or nearby village. When the females were cooking, then, it was a mixture of young girls and unmarried women who had grown up in that home and then up to three generations of women who had been grafted in (wives for the sons of the patriarch, the wife of the patriarch, and the widowed mother of the patriarch).⁴⁵

A brief mention must be given to the possible difference between domestic and public or official cooking environments. The above description of women as cooks is based on the average Israelite household. However, in the cities, there is the possibility that men may have served as professional bakers or cooks.⁴⁶ Textually, one can point to the bakers' street (Jer 37:21) for possible evidence for large-scale baking operations and to the chief baker for Pharaoh (Gen 40–41) as possible evidence for men as professional bakers, though this must be held lightly as it is a description of Egyptian practice and not Israelite.⁴⁷ Archaeologically, large ovens have been discovered in Iron Age Palestine in open and public spaces, which either point to communal use by occupants of nearby houses or to some level of professional baking.⁴⁸ Many of these were found outside with no roof, and therefore, this communal baking likely only took place in the dry season, whereas baking was done in the home during the winter months.⁴⁹ At Tell el-Far'ah, there was a room found that contained three contemporaneous ovens, and has therefore been identified by the excavators as a 'palace kitchen', that is, a professional baking site.⁵⁰ Whether these professional bakers, provided they existed, were male or female is unsure, although it is likely that, since women were usually located at home, providing for the

44 Ebeling, *Women's Lives*, 81–82; Blenkinsopp, 'The Family in First Temple Israel', 77.

45 For more detail, see Stager, 'Archaeology', 18ff.

46 Meyers, 'Having Their Space', 26.

47 Both the Jeremiah 37 instance and Hosea 7.4 use the masculine form for 'baker'. This may indicate, again, that men were known as bakers, but it may also be a case of simply using the masculine gender generically to refer to a non-specific baker.

48 Baadsgaard, 'Women's Sociality', 28–29; Eveline J. van der Steen, 'The Iron Age Bread Ovens from Tell Deir 'Alla', *Annual of the Department of Antiquities: Jordan* 35 (1991): 142.

49 Van der Steen, 'Bread Ovens', 142. Van der Steen does note the possibility that these were used by migrant workers who came during the dry months, rather than local families, but she does not give it much attention.

50 Ibid., 149.

daily needs of the family, men were those who had the time and availability to hire themselves out for work outside the home.⁵¹

2.2 *Other Responsibilities of These Persons*

Assuming that the vast majority of those who cooked food in ancient Israel were women who were in the home, one can also describe the other routine tasks performed in such settings, here given in brief. The two most important and most time-consuming activities were grain processing and textile production.

Converting grains to bread (more detail given below) was a complex process that involved hours of labour. It often involved the soaking and grinding of grain for hours, and then the flour that was produced would be made into dough. This dough itself needed to sit and rise in a warm location before being baked in an oven that was properly heated with fuel gathered for such a purpose.⁵² The grinding was performed usually with stone implements, with the preferred stone being basalt for its hardness. Excavations at Tel Rehov produced a number of grinding installations where the larger lower stone was set on a raised earthen pedestal with low plastered walls around it to capture the flour. The handstone, or upper millstone, would have been passed back and forth across its surface to produce the flour.⁵³

If fresh flour did not keep for very long, such as Ebeling suggests, then it would quickly have been made into some sort of bread product. This high rate of turnover, then, could be an indication that grinding grain into flour would have been an activity performed every day, rather than just occasionally when stores ran out.⁵⁴ The assertion, however, that flour did not keep well is not maintained by all scholars. Alternatively, Avitsur suggests that flour, based upon ethnographic comparison, kept for two to three months, allowing perhaps for women to grind grain less often.⁵⁵ It is difficult to find a way between these views, but Magen Broshi's analysis of Roman era Palestine may provide a clue. Broshi estimates that flour consumption in Roman Palestine averaged .5 kg per person in a day, which would then require roughly 2.5–3 kg of flour

51 However, Samuel's warning to the Israelites regarding the potential for royal abuse of power in 1 Samuel 8.13 suggests that kings may have taken women, rather than men, into their service for the task of bread production.

52 Meyers, 'The Family in Early Israel', 25.

53 Ebeling and Rowan, 'The Archaeology of the Daily Grind', 114–115.

54 Ebeling, *Women's Lives*, 49.

55 Shmuel Avitsur, 'The Way to Bread: The Example of the Land of Israel', *Tools and Tillage* 2, no. 4 (1975): 230.

for an average family of five or six people. With the handmills available in that era, it took approximately one hour of milling to produce .8 kg of flour, which implies that a family of five or six necessitated more than three hours of milling per day.⁵⁶ Though milling technology certainly changed from the Iron Age to the Roman period, it is generally safe to assume that technology does not become *less* efficient over time, and therefore, one can assume that the same amount of time, or more, was required for grinding grain into flour in the Iron Age. If women were spending more than three person-hours per day grinding grain, it seems unlikely in any case that they would be producing enough for long term storage.

Textile production, the other essential daily activity, was likewise a time-consuming chore for the women of the house. They were in charge of producing all the necessary clothing, rugs, bedding and blankets, curtains, containers, tents, wall hangings and more.⁵⁷ First the fibres (wool, goat's hair or flax) were spun to form yarn, taking it from a mass and spinning it onto a spindle. Then, spun threads were interlaced with one another, using a loom, to create cloth in various styles. After weaving, the cloth could be dyed if that was desirable.⁵⁸ It is normally assumed that ancient Israelites were using upright vertical looms rather than horizontal looms, the former naturally standing upright and the latter being laid flat upon the ground. However, scholars have assumed that vertical looms were the chosen style in the Iron Age as a result of the identification of loom weights, as they are usually called in excavation reports. These so-called loom weights are often ball-shaped with a hole pierced through their centre. It is on account of this feature that archaeologists initially suggested that they were loom weights. Because of this suggestion, they assumed that the looms used in ancient Israel (not preserved because they were constructed from perishable materials) were upright, vertical looms, which required weights, unlike the horizontal looms.⁵⁹ However, some scholars have suggested that these were not at all loom weights, but were instead jar stoppers, perhaps even fermentation stoppers in brewing beer or making wine.⁶⁰ This is

56 Magen Broshi, *Bread, Wine, Walls and Scrolls* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 125.

57 Ebeling, *Women's Lives*, 56.

58 King and Stager, *Life*, 152–154; Borowski, *Daily Life*, 31–32.

59 This is, in fact, the very reason that Borowski cites for suggesting the vertical loom in Borowski, *Daily Life*, 32.

60 Jennie R. Ebeling and Michael M. Homan, 'Baking and Brewing Beer in the Israelite Household: A Study of Women's Cooking Technology', in *The World of Women in the Ancient and Classical Near East*, ed. Beth Alpert Nakhai (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 57–60; Zvi Gal, 'Loom Weights or Jar Stoppers?',

a plausible suggestion, though it should not be taken to assume that vertical looms, and therefore loom weights, were not in use.⁶¹ King and Stager simply state that they were used for both purposes.⁶² Operating the vertical loom was, like bread production, probably a job shared by more than one woman, as demonstrated both by ethnographic evidence and by ancient iconography from Egypt and Greece.⁶³

Textiles, however, were limited by the supply of wool, the principal fibre available to ancient Israelites. As ethnographic evidence shows, sheep shearing usually would have taken place in the spring, and as a result, the bulk of the textile production happened from that point until the wool ran out, usually in the autumn sometime.⁶⁴ Therefore, an average day for women in the home between spring and autumn appears to have involved fairly extensive group activities, alternating back and forth between textiles and bread production, in addition to all the other less time-consuming tasks.

3 Description of Food Items

As mentioned in the review of relevant literature, there have been two major approaches to the study of the ancient Israelite diet. The first, exemplified by Borowski and by King and Stager, consists of cataloguing all the food and agricultural items that were produced and/or consumed in ancient Israel. The second approach has been a critique of the first, led by Nathan MacDonald, who argues that one ought not to equate the vast range of possible foodstuffs with the actual diet of average Israelites. He asks instead, 'what did the ancient Israelites eat?'

Because the following discussion is based on possibilities, it will lean more heavily on the first of the two mentioned approaches. The reason for this choice of method has to do with providing knowledge that is adequately

Israel Exploration Journal 39, no. 3/4 (1989): 281–83; King and Stager, *Life*, 153–154. King and Stager make the argument here that vertical loom was in use at this time, not least because it was the one represented in artwork. Nevertheless, they also validate the use of the clay objects as jar stoppers, but do so in suggesting that they are used for both activities, weaving and storage. Dever, *Ordinary People*, 165. Dever assumes the vertical loom.

61 Dever actually points out that these clay balls are often found against a wall all in a line, which suggests that they were all hanging in a line on a loom when the loom was burnt with a fire, and thus fell naturally in a line: Dever, *Ordinary People*, 165.

62 King and Stager, *Life*, 155.

63 Ibid., 156; Meyers, 'In the Household and Beyond', 25–26.

64 Ebeling, *Women's Lives*, 57.

encyclopaedic. That is, any of these food items could be part of a cooking scene in the Hebrew Bible, and therefore we must know what we can about them. Nevertheless, it will be important in summary to provide a spectrum of typicality, in order to arrange the encyclopaedic knowledge appropriately.

3.1 *Ingredients and Their Sources*

3.1.1 Grains

The staple grains in ancient Israel appear to have been wheat and barley. A few different varieties of wheat were grown, but hard durum wheat was likely the most common.⁶⁵ This variety enjoys a warmer climate and prefers 500–700 ml of rainfall per year, though it can endure less. It was usually sown in November and December and harvested in April and May.⁶⁶ Whereas wheat was held to be the superior grain crop, barley served as the inferior one, often the crop of the poor. It was hardier, required less water, and was harvested a few weeks earlier than wheat.⁶⁷ A third option may have been millet, sown in the spring and enjoying warmer and drier climate than wheat and barley, though the only potential evidence available is textual, rather than archaeological.⁶⁸

The grain could be consumed in a variety of ways. It could be eaten whole, either fresh or roasted. It could also be used either whole or cracked in gruel or stew.⁶⁹ But more than anything else, the grain was ground into flour for making bread products.⁷⁰ Prior to grinding the grain, it had first to be threshed and winnowed, in order to remove the unwanted and inedible parts. As noted above, after the threshing and winnowing the grain could be pounded in a mortar, and/or ground between an upper and a lower millstone—the lower being the larger of the two and slightly concave, while the upper is smaller and is moved back and forth over top of the lower—both of which were ideally made from basalt, though this was not exclusively the case.⁷¹ This grinding process alone could take up to two or three hours to provide enough flour for an average home, and so was a significant part of the daily activities.⁷²

65 MacDonal, *What Did the Ancient Israelites Eat?*, 20; Other varieties included einkorn, emmer and bread wheat. Cf. King and Stager, *Life*, 94.

66 MacDonal, *What Did the Ancient Israelites Eat?*, 20.

67 King and Stager, *Life*, 94; MacDonal, *What Did the Ancient Israelites Eat?*, 20.

68 Borowski, *Agriculture*, 92–93.

69 Borowski, *Daily Life*, 66; For a detailed description of the stages of growth for grain and how the grain can be consumed in those stages, see Borowski, *Agriculture*, 88.

70 MacDonal, *What Did the Ancient Israelites Eat?*, 21; Borowski, *Daily Life*, 65–66.

71 King and Stager, *Life*, 94–95.

72 MacDonal, *What Did the Ancient Israelites Eat?*, 21; Meyers, 'Everyday Life', 247. See also the section above regarding other responsibilities.

3.1.2 Pulses, Vegetables, Fruits

Archaeological evidence for pulses, vegetables, and fruits and how they were grown and used in Ancient Israel is scant, and therefore the biblical text has been used more heavily as a supplement in the scholarly discussion. Only brief coverage will be given here to the various food items.

Pulses, or legumes, also factor into the ancient Israelite diet. Those that are known from archaeology are lentils (perhaps a red variety, if Genesis 25 and Jacob's pottage is taken into account), broad beans, field peas, chickpeas, bitter vetch and fenugreek. Two others known from earlier periods are common vetch and grass pea, which may simply have eluded archaeologists, but could also figure into the Iron Age repertoire.⁷³ Most of these crops were sown in the winter months and harvested in the mid-spring, with the possible exception of chickpeas, which could have been sown in late winter or early spring and therefore harvested in late spring or early summer.⁷⁴ Functionally, pulses served as an important, if poorly esteemed, source of protein for a population that did not consume great quantities of meat.⁷⁵

Vegetables cultivated in Palestine would likely have included garlic, onions, leeks, carrots, cucumber and melons (either muskmelon or watermelon, or both), and foraged vegetables probably included both field greens and root vegetables.⁷⁶ These vegetables probably served as flavouring for dishes like stew, rather than forming the main dish themselves.⁷⁷ Not much is known beyond these general speculations, largely because they do not show up well in the archaeological record, and they likewise are not well represented textually, compared with grains and with fruit.

Fruit products are well summed-up by Borowski:

Trees native to this region, which were planted and harvested, included figs, pomegranates, grape vines, apricots, date palms, apples, and olives. With the exception of the latter . . . , all these trees yield fruit that can be used in similar ways. In season, fruits of these trees can either be eaten fresh and their fresh juice drunk, or they can be processed for future use. Other native fruit trees included the carob, which was probably very popular. The sweet-tasting pods are used today as chocolate substitute and might have been eaten in antiquity by those who had a sweet tooth. A

73 MacDonal, *What Did the Ancient Israelites Eat?*, 26–27.

74 Borowski, *Agriculture*, 34, 37, 93–97.

75 MacDonal, *What Did the Ancient Israelites Eat?*, 27–28.

76 Borowski, *Agriculture*, 137–139; Borowski, *Daily Life*, 71.

77 MacDonal, *What Did the Ancient Israelites Eat?*, 32.

poor person's fruit was the sycamore [sic], which resembles a fig . . . Black mulberry and citron, a member of the citrus family, are also trees native to the region, but there are no references or any other evidence to the use of the fruit of these trees.⁷⁸

The two most familiar of these native plants are the grape vine and the olive tree, both figuring quite prominently in the biblical text. The grape vine, growing either along the ground or trained to grow along poles or trellises, would produce its all-important fruit in the months after the grain harvest in the spring and on into the late months of summer. The harvesters would have cut off the clusters of the ripe fruit and taken them to be processed, where they were usually pressed by treading in order to access the juice. This juice was then put into large containers for fermentation in order to produce wine.⁷⁹ Vineyards were well-suited to much of ancient Israel's climate and geography, though they required a great deal of attention, and they did not produce adequate fruit until usually the fourth or fifth year.⁸⁰

The olive tree was treated in a like fashion to the grape vine, where Israelites used the fruit primarily for its processed goods, in this case oil. The olives, unlike in modern practice, were not eaten as fruit in the Iron Age, but were probably used exclusively for oil production.⁸¹ The fruit from the tree was harvested in the early Autumn, by beating the branches with sticks, and then it was taken to be pressed into the valuable oil.⁸² This oil could be used for flavouring, frying, lighting, offering, ointment or anointing someone.⁸³

3.1.3 Meat and Fish

Available meat for Israelites of the Iron Age was that of cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, pork, fowl and fish.⁸⁴ Considering the frequent biblical prohibitions against pork, it is not surprising that it is rarely found in substantial quantities in Israelite settlements. Further, the average Israelite likely did not consume much meat in any case, because the meat often came from their domestic

⁷⁸ Borowski, *Daily Life*, 70.

⁷⁹ Borowski, *Agriculture*, 107–112.

⁸⁰ MacDonald, *What Did the Ancient Israelites Eat?*, 22.

⁸¹ Borowski, *Agriculture*, 123–125.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 119. For a very good summary of olive presses and how they were used, see here also pp. 119–123.

⁸³ MacDonald, *What Did the Ancient Israelites Eat?*, 23.

⁸⁴ Borowski, *Daily Life*, 67; MacDonald, *What Did the Ancient Israelites Eat?*, 32–34. MacDonald also suggests the possibility of hunted animals, which would primarily consist of deer and gazelles.

animals, upon which the people relied for their secondary products, such as wool, labour, milk, cheese, etc.⁸⁵ When meat was consumed, it was usually prepared in a stew, the meat having been boiled in water or other liquid, or it was roasted over an open fire. Drying, salting, and smoking meat are practices known from extra-biblical sources, but are not attested in the biblical text.⁸⁶

Fish, though probably not a common meal for the average Israelites, was available from the Mediterranean or from the other nearby water sources.⁸⁷ The fact that some fish remains have been found in inland locations suggests that these fish were transported there in a preserved state, and consequently that would be the state in which they were consumed. If, somehow, fresh fish were to be had, then cooking options include roasting, boiling, or frying.⁸⁸ The types of fish include Nile catfish, St. Peter's fish, and mouthbreeders from fresh water sources, and the Nile perch, sea bream, groupers, meagers, and gray mullets from salt water sources.⁸⁹

As with fish, fowl was also likely not a common food item in Iron Age Israel. There is some evidence in Jerusalem that people consumed chicken, duck, and goose meat, but this is by no means common. Wild birds may have been hunted, and their eggs may also have been sought as a delicacy.⁹⁰

3.1.4 Dairy Products

There were a variety of dairy products available to the Israelite population, who often kept domesticated milking animals nearby, such as goats, sheep and possibly cattle, though this last was used more for field labour than for dairy.⁹¹ Yoghurt, usually made in the summer, is milk that has curdled and can be drunk or used as a dip for bread. Butter, either fresh (made by placing the milk into a goatskin and agitating it for a couple of hours) or cooked (with salt, herbs, and grain or flour and left to cool) into ghee, was possible.⁹² Dry cheese is made from the remnants of the cooked butter, and is mixed with salt, dried, and formed into balls or lumps to dry further in the sun.⁹³ Moist cheese comes

85 Borowski, *Daily Life*, 67; Ebeling, *Women's Lives*, 36. Ebeling also suggests here that, given the high value of meat, it is likely that it was mostly consumed at holidays and times of celebration.

86 Borowski, *Daily Life*, 67; Shafer-Elliott, *Food in Ancient Judah*, 67.

87 Ebeling, *Women's Lives*, 36.

88 Borowski, *Daily Life*, 69.

89 MacDonald, *What Did the Ancient Israelites Eat?*, 37–38.

90 Borowski, *Daily Life*, 69–70.

91 MacDonald, *What Did the Ancient Israelites Eat?*, 35.

92 See Photo 2 in the appendix.

93 See Photo 3 in the appendix.

from milk that has been clotted (with acid milk, coagulated milk, yoghurt, or a piece of kid's or lamb's rennet), and then drained and salted.⁹⁴

3.1.5 Water

Water and its sources have been dealt with above in relation to the Israelite settlement, though it is important to reiterate here that water sources were quite variable in ancient Israel and Judah. If a settlement was near a spring, then year-round access to fresh water may have been a good possibility. A good well could also provide water of a decent quality throughout the entire year. Cisterns and other water catchments that depend on rainfall may have provided less security through the whole of the dry season. As with the Jeremiah example given above, cisterns are known to have dried up, presumably toward the end of the dry season, rendering water somewhat more scarce at times. Further, the closer to the bottom of the cistern that the water gets, the more chance there would be of it being sullied by the accumulated muck at the bottom.

3.1.6 Other Items

A few items that do not fit in the above categories bear mentioning here. Spices and herbs were certainly part of the diet in ancient Israel, though to what degree is unclear. Salt, black cumin, cumin, and coriander appear to have been collected and cultivated by the ancient Israelites.⁹⁵ They undoubtedly consumed, also, honey, primarily of the sort made from processed fruit, but also possibly wild bees' honey.⁹⁶ Though they appear to have been only marginal additions to the diet of some Israelites, it is possible that seeds, such as flax and sesame, were consumed as food.⁹⁷ Further, there is evidence of nut-bearing trees such as almonds, pistachios and walnuts and evidence of their use for consumption has been documented.⁹⁸

3.2 *Particular Foodstuffs/Meals Created*

While many of the actual meals that Israelites, whether poor or elite, ate cannot be known to us, we can at least suggest a few of the typical meals or foodstuffs created from the above-mentioned items. The most obvious starting

94 Oded Borowski, *Every Living Thing: Daily Use of Animals in Ancient Israel* (Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 1998), 55–56.

95 MacDonald, *What Did the Ancient Israelites Eat?*, 40; Borowski, *Agriculture*, 97–98.

96 MacDonald, *What Did the Ancient Israelites Eat?*, 39–40.

97 Borowski, *Agriculture*, 98–99.

98 *Ibid.*, 131–133.

point, then, is with the most prevalent food item in the Israelite diet—bread. By the fact that Hebrew לֶחֶם can be rendered both as ‘bread’ and simply as ‘food’ and because of the near ubiquity of cereal products found in excavations, it is safe to assert that bread served as the single most important food item on the ancient Israelite menu. This emphasis on bread as a major part of the ancient Israelite diet is corroborated by Broshi’s calculations, which show that in Roman Palestine, a little more than 50% of the average daily caloric intake came from cereals, which is compared to the roughly 48% seen in the Arab population of the West Bank today.⁹⁹ If such consistency is observable between the Roman Period and today, then there is at least a high likelihood that a similar level of bread/cereal consumption can be posited for ancient Israel.

Bread, however, did not come in one form only, but instead could be manipulated at the whim and resources of the baker. It can be easily divided into unleavened cakes, requiring only flour, water, and a little salt, or leavened bread, using yeast from leftover bread, grape skins, beer froth, or from airborne organisms. This bread may have been flavoured with herbs, spices, honey, date-syrup, and oil, much like bread today.¹⁰⁰

As alluded to earlier, bread was not the only product made from grain. Rather, there were a variety of other grain-based food possibilities, demonstrated by comparison to modern rural Palestinians. It has been noted that three different stages in the cycle of the grain can produce different food items. The kernels of grain in the early spring, while still green, were edible and sweet. In the mid-later spring, when they became slightly harder, but not yet ripe, the harvesters could pile the grain on thistles and twigs and light it on fire. The fuel burns up rather quickly and leaves scorched kernels of grain for immediate consumption. Alternatively, if the grain were brought home, it could be passed back and forth over a proper fire and then rubbed to release the edible kernels. In addition to being eaten immediately, grain in this state could be then steeped in water, or boiled and served with milk products, or pounded for grits. Fully ripe grains, in the third stage, could be treated in the same way, eaten parched or roasted, steeped in water or in milk products, but it was customary to thresh the ripe grain first and then pound it into grits before proceeding.¹⁰¹

Grits could also have been eaten together with something sweet, or been made into a gruel or porridge, which would likely have been available as a

99 Broshi, *Bread, Wine*, 123.

100 Ebeling, *Women’s Lives*, 49. It is important to note that Ebeling suggests that these are plausible additives to bread products based upon repeated biblical references to them.

101 Avitsur, ‘Way to Bread’, 228–230.

midday meal, as midday meals were likely light meals as a rule.¹⁰² These light meals could have been supplemented by preserved fruit or by grain, particularly barley, which may have been roasted out in the field by the harvesters, since only grain and fire are necessary, or the grain may also simply have been eaten raw, freshly picked in the early spring, as mentioned above.¹⁰³

At supper one might expect a hot meal, probably stew or pottage with legumes and flavoured with vegetables and spices. Bread would probably have been consumed with this hot meal. If it was a special occasion, or if the family were wealthy, the stew may include meat, probably from a recently slaughtered sheep or goat.¹⁰⁴ Alternatively, the meat could have been roasted over a hearth or open fire and seasoned with spices.¹⁰⁵

The most common meals, it seems, are those that involve a stew or gruel and some form of bread. These are the staples. Variation was indeed possible, and any staple meal could easily have been supplemented by other preserved food items, such as the dairy products or fruit products mentioned earlier, depending on availability and occasion.

4 Identity and Description of Material Culture

4.1 *Cooking Installations*

The most frequent type of cooking installation found and recognized in domestic settings has been the oven. Archaeologists have identified two different types of oven, the *tannur* and the *tabun*.¹⁰⁶ Typically both types of oven were terra-cotta in their make, and at times were covered on the outside by bits of broken pottery, for the purposes of insulation. The fuel for these ovens, particularly for the *tabun*, seems to have been a mixture of twigs, sun-dried dung cakes, and leftovers from olive pressings.¹⁰⁷ However, by ethnographic

102 Ibid., 231; Dever, *Ordinary People*, 169; Shafer-Elliott, *Food in Ancient Judah*, 112. This assertion that midday meals were light is made by ethnographic comparison to similar cultures from western Iran.

103 King and Stager, *Life*, 67.

104 Ibid.

105 Borowski, *Daily Life*, 67.

106 Unfortunately, the archaeological literature is not consistent in this terminology, often opting for *tabun* as a generic term for both types of ovens. The terminology adopted here follows those scholars who intend to distinguish between them. For examples of various excavation reports where this conflation exists, see Baadsgaard, 'Women's Sociality', 26.

107 Dever, *Ordinary People*, 159; Ferdinand Deist, *The Material Culture of the Bible: An Introduction*, ed. Robert P. Carroll and Philip R. Davies, Biblical Seminar 70 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 148, 152; Ebeling, *Women's Lives*, 50.

comparison, it seems more likely that, when baking with a *tannur*, it would have been prudent to use cleaner burning fuel, preferably wood if it were available, for reasons given below.¹⁰⁸

The *tannur*, the larger of the two types, was often sunk partly into the ground, stood roughly one metre high, was roughly 40–60 cm in diameter, was conical or beehive-shaped, and likely had a hole in the top either for ventilation or for holding and heating other cooking instruments like cooking pots or to allow for the roasting of meat.¹⁰⁹ At Tell Deir 'Alla, most of the ovens found in houses were of a smaller size, were not dug into the ground, and were not insulated. The smaller size was due likely to the fact that there was more space restriction indoors, and that these ovens would only have been used for one household in the winter rather than as communal ovens.¹¹⁰ They were not dug-in nor insulated so that they could be more effectively used as a multi-purpose cooking installation. The walls could more efficiently radiate heat to items placed on top, such as a cooking pot, if it were not insulated; and being above ground, it would not lose as much heat into the earth.¹¹¹ It would typically be heated by a fire within the oven and the dough would have been slapped onto its inside walls when the initial flames had died down sufficiently.¹¹² As the oven was heated from the inside and since therefore the smoke from the fire would directly interact with the dough, it would have been preferable to use clean burning fuel.

The *tabun* was the smaller of the two ovens and would reach an average height of 30 cm. It, too, was shaped like a beehive and, like the *tannur*, likely had an opening at the top.¹¹³ The *tabun* would typically have been heated from

108 Avitsur, 'Way to Bread', 237.

109 Shafer-Elliott, *Food in Ancient Judah*, 107–108, 120–121; Baadsgaard, 'Women's Sociality', 28–29 Baadsgaard here notes the significance of diameter for the ovens, where those with a greater diameter were used in more public or corporate settings. For the suggestion that these ovens could roast meat see van der Steen, 'Bread Ovens', 137, 151, who sees the occasional deposit of animal bones found inside the excavated ovens as evidence for such a practice.

110 Van der Steen, 'Bread Ovens', 144.

111 Ibid.

112 Avitsur, 'Way to Bread', 237.

113 Shafer-Elliott, *Food in Ancient Judah*, 121. Shafer-Elliott's description of the two oven types is dependent upon comparisons to ovens still in use today in rural areas within Jordan, Palestine and Israel today, which bear considerable resemblance to those that have been found in excavations throughout the Near East. Importantly, however, she notes that while the modern equivalents have an opening both at the top and the bottom of the oven, the ovens found in excavations have not had openings at the bottom, as far as

the outside, with any such fuel as was at hand, therefore enabling people to use up materials that had no other economic function, such as dung, chopped straw, and twigs.¹¹⁴ Since, however, the smoke from such fuel is not only dense but also not contained by the oven, it is suggested that the ideal location for such *tabun* ovens was in an outdoor space, protected from the wind. Olive pulp was also likely included in the fuel for fires and, due to its oil residue, would burn long, and could even be used a second time in open fires for heating.¹¹⁵ Once the oven was hot enough, the dough could be placed inside it to bake for 10–15 minutes.¹¹⁶

In addition to ovens, hearths have also been found within domestic settings. There is some disagreement as to the frequency of hearths, where Holladay suggests that they are relatively infrequent (after suggesting that ovens, on the other hand, were relatively frequent), but Dever and Ebeling both remark that they are frequently found in excavations.¹¹⁷ Meyers suggests that hearths are indeed difficult to identify in the archaeological record because, as ethnographic evidence shows, hearths were usually located in the living quarters, and therefore usually on the upper floor of Israelite homes.¹¹⁸ As the upper floor is almost never extant, so also hearths are hard to find. These hearths, unlike ovens, were heating or cooking installations that were open to the air and could range from large permanent installations, lined with potsherds and set upon a brick platform, to rudimentary piles of stones set on the floor on which a fire could be built and cooking vessels placed beside the fire.¹¹⁹

excavators can tell. This could change how these cooking installations were used, but the otherwise strikingly similar form of the ovens makes it unlikely that the difference would be drastic.

114 Avitsur, 'Way to Bread', 239–240.

115 Alison McQuitty, 'Ovens in Town and Country', *Berytus: Archaeological Studies* 41 (1993–1994): 58.

116 Avitsur, 'Way to Bread', 240–241.

117 Holladay, 'House, Israelite', 309; Holladay, however, notes that although hearths are not commonly found in excavations, they must nevertheless have been present in houses in most of the land where heating the house in the winter was needed: Holladay, 'Four-Room House', 339; Dever, *Ordinary People*, 131. It must be noted, however, that Dever could be saying that hearths are often found on the ground floor as opposed to the second floor, but his sentence leaves the meaning ambiguous; Ebeling, *Women's Lives*, 49.

118 Carol L. Meyers, 'From Field Crops to Food: Attributing Gender and Meaning to Bread Production in Iron Age Israel', in *The Archaeology of Difference: Gender, Ethnicity, Class and the 'Other' in Antiquity: Studies in Honor of Eric M. Meyers*, ed. Douglas R. Edwards and C. Thomas McCollough, *The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 60/61 (Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2007), 72.

119 Ben-Shlomo et al., 'Cooking Identities', 236.

4.2 *Cooking Utensils/Vessels*

The baking process seems not to have required a great many vessels. The evidence is not entirely clear, but archaeologists have discovered what appears to be baking trays, made of pottery, which were large discs with a rim and were likely placed directly on the fire. These discs had holes drilled into their underside in order to allow heat to penetrate more readily to the surface.¹²⁰ This tool is similar in function, if not shape and efficiency, to the modern *saj*, a metal vessel shaped like a large bowl inverted on the fire.¹²¹

Shafer-Elliott makes extensive comparisons between three major types of cooking pots or vessels available in Iron Age II (almost exclusively made from clay mixed with various grits),¹²² which she refers to as Canaanite, Philistine, and Hybrid pots or jugs.¹²³ While this classification derives from Iron II Judah, it can serve as a helpful delineation for all of Israel and Judah because, between the three pot types, most major cooking techniques using pottery can be covered by them.

The so-called Canaanite pot is the one with which people are the most familiar.¹²⁴ It is the largest of the three, usually measuring between 15–20 cm in height, 25–30 cm in maximum width, with the width of the open mouth usually a little more than half of the pot's maximum width.¹²⁵ Ben-Shlomo *et al.* note that there was a wide range of capacities for this type of pot. The smallest Canaanite pots, usually dating to late Iron Age II/III, held between 3 and 7 litres. The larger pots, usually dating to the Late Bronze or early Iron Age, tend to hold between 8 and 12 liters.¹²⁶ Its slightly rounded bottom, wide base, and its large surface area also functioned in a way so as to transfer heat to its contents more efficiently and evenly.¹²⁷ Many of the pots, especially in the later

120 Avitsur, 'Way to Bread', 235.

121 Ibid., 236. See also Photos 4 and 5 in the appendix.

122 Dever, *Ordinary People*, 161.

123 Shafer-Elliott, *Food in Ancient Judah*, 106–107.

124 For a drawing of the Canaanite pot, see figure 3.5 in the appendix.

125 The majority of the measurements information has come from noting the various measurements of cooking pots from Iron II Tel Halif, found at: 'Iron II Cooking Pots', text/html, *Iron II Cooking Pots*, (5 November 2007), <<http://www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/pottery/html/cooking.htm>>; Killebrew also notes that some of the larger, earlier forms reached a width of approximately 40 cm. Ann E. Killebrew, 'Late Bronze and Iron I Cooking Pots in Canaan: A Typological, Technological, and Functional Study', in *Archaeology, History and Culture in Palestine and the Near East: Essays in Memory of Albert E. Glock* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 84.

126 Ben-Shlomo *et al.*, 'Cooking Identities', 238 n.82.

127 Hardin, *Lahav II*, 60.

years of the Iron Age, had two handles near to the rim, which suggests that the pot not only could have sat directly on the coals or in the opening of an oven, but could have been suspended over an open fire.¹²⁸ The pot's opening could also accommodate a ceramic lid if necessary, to help retain heat.¹²⁹

The size of the pot and its mouth lends itself both to cooking larger portions of food, particularly pieces of meat, as well as to eating or serving food directly from the pot in a communal setting.¹³⁰ Ann Killebrew suggests more specifically that the wide-mouthed pots would enable a variety of cooking methods, including steaming, frying, simmering, and boiling.¹³¹

While the so-called Canaanite or traditional cooking pot was the largest of the three main types used, the smallest is what Shafer-Elliott calls the 'Philistine jug', so called because it originated with the Philistines on the Levantine coast in the early Iron Age, and only slowly made its way into much of the territory thereabout, and never became dominant there. Its size ranged approximately from 22–27 cm in height, 17–20 cm in width, and 7–10 cm in the width of the opening. Its capacity ranged from 1.3 litres to 7.8 litres, but usually came in the 2–3 litre range. The feature of particular interest, however, is that the bottom of this jug tapered significantly, usually to around 6 cm, thus allowing for the term 'jug' as opposed to 'pot'.¹³² This jug's walls were typically tempered in such a way that lent itself to direct heating—placing the jug right on or against the coals—rather than indirect heating, and was therefore useful for boiling. The fact that these jugs are often found with soot marks on one side gives further evidence that they were placed directly against the fire.¹³³

128 Killebrew, 'Late Bronze and Iron I Cooking Pots', 106–107.

129 Dever, *Ordinary People*, 161.

130 *Ibid.*, 164, 169.

131 Killebrew, 'Late Bronze and Iron I Cooking Pots', 106. Killebrew is here discussing an earlier form of the large cooking pot, which is slightly different than the one found in Iron II, but, as she is discussing it in terms of its wide mouth and round base, it is legitimate to incorporate her findings here. The scholarly literature seems rather confused on this point. Ben-Shlomo et al. cite Killebrew on this point, but make an opposite argument in Ben-Shlomo et al., 'Cooking Identities' They instead suggest that the open-mouthed pots were exposed to fire directly and so were used for high-heat rapid boiling, whereas smaller cooking jugs with restricted openings were exposed to heat indirectly and so were used for slow cooking practices such as simmering. See below for the discussion on narrow-mouthed cooking jugs.

132 Measurements and capacities taken from Ben-Shlomo et al., 'Cooking Identities', 227–228. Here Ben-Shlomo et al. refer to the jug as type 5.

133 Shafer-Elliott, *Food in Ancient Judah*, 106; Ben-Shlomo et al., 'Cooking Identities', 236.

Because the Philistine jug was smaller, and particularly because the opening was small, its use was likely for small, perhaps individual portions of grain and vegetable products, such as vegetable stew, gruel, and porridge.¹³⁴

The third type of cooking pot is the 'hybrid pot', a seeming hybrid between the traditional Canaanite-style pot and the Philistine jug.¹³⁵ Shafer-Elliott describes it well:

[I]t retained the more open-mouth of the of the traditional pot but was not as open; its body was less wide but taller than the pot, yet not as narrow as the jug, allowing a higher quantity of food to be cooked than in the jug. It retained the handle from the jug and added another to the other side to make it more use-friendly, and its body and base were round like the pot. Like the pot, the hybrid's cooking techniques would have been varied, tolerating more than just boiling like the jug, but not as multi-functional as the pot if not made of cooking ware. It could have been used for smaller items like cereal and vegetables, and perhaps some smaller amounts of meat since its mouth was wider and its volume capacity was higher than the jug. The hybrid pot evolved from the more functional and pragmatic aspects of the cooking pot and jug and was used by all local peoples—Philistine, Canaanite, and Judahite.¹³⁶

This hybrid pot gained popularity in Iron Age II, and became a viable alternative to the two previously mentioned types.¹³⁷ This pot usually measured from 15–20 cm in height, 15–20 cm in maximum width, and 8–10 cm in the width of the opening.¹³⁸ Its rounded bottom allowed it to sit directly on the coals of the fire in the same way as the traditional pot.

4.3 *Serving and Storing*

The vessels used for serving and storing foodstuffs are many and varied, though the ones that are perhaps the most pertinent here are the bowls, kraters, and storage jars. The last of these are often quite large, tall, usually with handles,

¹³⁴ Shafer-Elliott, *Food in Ancient Judah*, 107.

¹³⁵ For a drawing of the hybrid pot and its comparison to the Canaanite pot, see figures 3.6 and 3.7 in the appendix.

¹³⁶ Shafer-Elliott, *Food in Ancient Judah*, 107.

¹³⁷ Ben-Shlomo et al., 'Cooking Identities', 229–230. Ben-Shlomo et al. refer to this hybrid pot as type 7.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 231.

and with a narrow opening at the top, over which a covering could be placed.¹³⁹ The largest of these jars holds over 30 litres of its contents.¹⁴⁰ Those intended for liquid-storage show some variety, though they are often too heavy to be mobile when full, and so they will often have rounded bottoms and sometimes spouts in order to facilitate pouring more effectively.¹⁴¹

The main serving and eating dishes were kraters and bowls. Kraters were simply large serving bowls, similar in size to the Canaanite cooking pot, though the kraters had a flattened bottom, so as to sit upright on a flat surface, and an open mouth, enabling easy access for serving.¹⁴² People may have eaten directly out of the krater, using bread to sop up the stew or grab the food item, or they may have served the meal out into individual bowls or saucers, which are known from excavations.¹⁴³

5 Cooking Processes

5.1 *Baking Bread*

The process of baking bread has been touched on briefly in the preceding sections. However, it still remains to gather the information in one place. Bread, then, can be baked with or without an oven. Without an oven, the baker may place the prepared dough directly onto hot coals, thereby making a kind of cake or flatbread. The baker may also place some vessel, such as a baking tray, overtop of the coals, and then place the dough directly onto it. Baking with an oven, rather than an open fire, offers a few possibilities. If the oven in question was heated from the outside (probably a *tabun*), then the bread was likely placed on the oven's hot floor, while the fire burned hot on its outer walls. If this was the case, then it meant that the bread, sitting on the hot floor, with empty space around it, had room to expand.¹⁴⁴ If the oven was heated from the inside (probably a *tannur*), then the bread was likely slapped onto the hot inside walls of the oven once the flames had died down enough and just stable coals remained. Both types of firing, from without and from within, are observed for Iron Age ovens, though it is more common to find those fired from

139 Hardin, *Lahav II*, 60.

140 King and Stager, *Life*, 142. See also pp. 143–145 for helpful illustrations.

141 Hardin, *Lahav II*, 61.

142 Borowski, *Every Living Thing*, 68.

143 Dever, *Ordinary People*, 169. For a diagram of various vessels, see also p. 165.

144 Jean Bottéro, *The Oldest Cuisine in the World: Cooking in Mesopotamia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 49–50.

within, like the *tannur*-type.¹⁴⁵ Therefore, there are four discernible types of baking bread in Iron Age Israel: two types with an open fire (on coals and on baking tray), and two types with an oven (on the floor inside an oven heated from without and on the inner walls of an oven heated from within).¹⁴⁶

5.2 *Making Pottage*

The other most frequent cooking activity is that of making some kind of pottage, whether soup, stew, or gruel. The main differences among such activities derive from the type of vessel used. If a large Canaanite-style cooking pot is used, then the contents could be heated by hanging the pot by its handles over a fire or hearth. Alternatively, the pot could sit either directly on hot coals or in the opening at the top of an oven, conceivably while bread is being baked.¹⁴⁷ Because handles only became more common in the Iron II period, it is likely that in Iron I and earlier, pots were placed directly onto a fire or perhaps in the oven opening, but not usually suspended above a fire.¹⁴⁸ As mentioned earlier, this pot would have enabled steaming, frying, simmering, and boiling. Ben-Shlomo *et al.* also note that the traditional pots were sometimes placed in a pit to cook with hot ash or embers.¹⁴⁹

Philistine-style cooking jugs with a flat base and a small mouth were used primarily for thinner liquid foodstuffs, such as gruel or porridge. Stew or soup that had larger pieces of food in them would not have cooked well in these jugs. The flat base allowed them to stand directly on a heated surface, such as the floor of a hearth, and the soot marks on one side of many of the excavated jugs may demonstrate that the jugs were often placed directly up against the coals or ash of the fire.¹⁵⁰ Gur-Arieh *et al.*, however, argue that soot marks are inconclusive for determining where pots were placed with relation to the fire. They re-enacted a hearth-cooking activity and noticed that the soot appeared simply wherever the shadow of the wind happened to be, regardless of the

145 Baadsgaard, 'Women's Sociality', 22.

146 It is almost certain that this does not account for every way that ancient Israelites made bread. One must allow for lack of evidence and for individual/local ingenuity. What is accounted for here is, instead, the most common forms of baking for which we have evidence.

147 Killebrew, 'Late Bronze and Iron I Cooking Pots', 106–107.

148 Ruth Amiran, *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land: From Its Beginnings in the Neolithic Period to the End of the Iron Age* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1970), 227.

149 Ben-Shlomo *et al.*, 'Cooking Identities', 236.

150 *Ibid.*

location of the jug and the fire.¹⁵¹ This argument, despite being interesting, is not very convincing. If many jugs have soot marks primarily on one side and not on the other, as is the case, then one would have to assume that either the wind was always blowing in the same direction every time the jug was used, or the jug was only used one time. Otherwise, we should expect to see similar levels of soot all over the jug, which is not the case.

Hybrid cooking pots allowed for more variability than either of the other two vessels, though its rounded bottom precludes it from being placed on the flat surface. It could accommodate both thinner gruels and porridges, as well as stews and soups, provided the portions of meat (if there were any) were not overly large.

5.3 *Other Cooking Activities*

Two other cooking activities require a brief mention here. Grains, as mentioned earlier, may be picked at different stages in their growth cycle and either eaten raw, or otherwise prepared as a snack. Preparing grain entailed roasting it over a fire. If this was done away from the home, then the easiest way, based on ethnographic evidence, was to build a pile of quick-burning thistles and twigs, put the grain on top, and then light it. When the fire died, then one could pick out the roasted grains. If one was at home, then the grains could be passed back and forth over the fire until ready, and then squeeze them out of the husks in order to eat them.¹⁵² King and Stager also suggest that the grains could be roasted on a griddle, rather than directly in a fire.¹⁵³

The last activity to be mentioned is the boiling of water. Boiling water is not strictly a cooking activity, but should be noted for the very reason of its difference from other similar processes. It has been suggested that water was boiled not in a cooking pot, as with the other liquid food items, but rather in a different sort of pot altogether.¹⁵⁴ Therefore, the difference in vessels used may be an indication that ancient Israelites considered boiling water as distinct from other kinds of boiling. This remains but a very tentative conclusion, and would need further evidence to corroborate the claim.

151 Shira Gur-Arieh et al., 'Formation Processes in Philistine Hearths from Tell Es-Safi/Gath (Israel): An Experimental Approach', *Journal of Field Archaeology* 37, no. 2 (2012): 129.

152 Avitsur, 'Way to Bread', 228–230.

153 King and Stager, *Life*, 93.

154 Borowski, *Daily Life*, 73.

Lexemes-Concepts

1 Introduction

The purpose of the present chapter is to present the various cooking lexemes found in the Hebrew Bible. The arrangement of each entry resembles somewhat that of the Semantics of Ancient Hebrew Database entries, though that format has been tailored to present the relevant data arising from the research performed here. As such, the information regarding root and comparative material as well as the sections outlining translations into versions will usually receive only cursory glances. They will serve primarily to confirm that we are looking in the right direction, namely that the Hebrew words in question are plausibly connected to one cooking activity or another. It is the following discussion, the analysis of the Hebrew lexemes themselves, that is determinative for conclusions about meaning.

In ordering the lexemes I have decided to divide them into two groups based upon the respective number of occurrences: common lexemes (more than twenty occurrences in the HB/OT) and uncommon lexemes (fewer than five occurrences), both groups being internally arranged alphabetically. The common lexemes consist of אפה, בשל, and עשה. The uncommon lexemes consist of רתח, קלה, צלה, עוג, לבב, זיד, בעה.

The names of concepts are given throughout within square brackets. These names, it should be noted, are not meant to describe the respective concept exhaustively. They act as placeholders, and are only intended to distinguish one concept here from another. The meaning of the concept, then, is not in its name, but in the whole of its description.

2 Common Lexemes

2.1 אפה

Occurrences: HB/OT: ×24–25 (×21–22 *Qal*; ×3 *Nif'al*)

There are two problems in the data for אפה in the *Qal binyan*. First, approximately half of the *Qal* occurrences are substantive participles acting as an occupational title ‘baker’. Because a title refers to a person and not to an activity—the present concern—such words cannot be directly included in the

analysis of cooking verbs. They may serve to corroborate certain claims made, but they do not represent the cooking concepts in and of themselves. The second problem is that Hosea 7:6 contains a form that, based on the consonantal text, could either be from the root אָפֶה or from אָר. If it is of the latter, then it is to be excluded from the following concept analysis; if it is of the former, then it is again a participle acting as a title.¹ Despite dismissing it in either case as direct evidence for concepts denoting cooking activity, it may still prove useful to discern what a baking scenario may have looked like, if the operative cognitive domain is indeed [FOOD PREPARATION] and if it can indeed be established that the form is from the root אָפֶה. A closer look at the Hebrew for Hosea 7:4–6 is therefore required:²

כָּלֶם מִנְאֲפִים כְּמֹ תִנּוֹר בְּעֵרָה מֵאֲפֶה יִשְׁבּוֹת מְעִיר מְלוֹשׁ בָּצֵק עֲדָה־מִּצֵּתוֹ: ⁵ יוֹם מִלְּכִנּוּ
הִחֲלוּ שָׂרִים חֲמַת מִיָּין מִשֶּׁךְ יָדוֹ אֶת־לִצְעִים: ⁶ כִּי־קִרְבּוֹ כִּתְנּוֹר לִבָּם בְּאַרְבֶּם כָּל־הַלַּיְלָה
יֵשֶׁן אֲפֵהֶם בְּקֶר הוּא בֵּעַר כְּאֵשׁ לְהִבָּה:

⁴ They are all adulterers; they are like a heated oven, whose baker does not need to stir the fire, from the kneading of the dough until it is leavened. ⁵ On the day of our king the officials became sick with the heat of wine; he stretched out his hand with mockers. ⁶ For they are kindled like an oven, their heart burns within them; all night their anger [baking/baker] smolders [sleeps]; in the morning it blazes like a flaming fire.

Clearly, the scenario involves food preparation, and indeed baking. Therefore, the cognitive domain for the form אֲפֵהֶם could easily be [FOOD PREPARATION]. The problem chiefly derives from the fact that the scenario also clearly involves concepts of anger and flame, and therefore the operative cognitive domain could also be [ANGER]. If the form is to be understood as being from אָר, then one must explain away the Masoretic pointing and vowels as a mistake. If it is to be understood, instead, as being from אָפֶה, then one must explain the missing root letter ה as having dropped out before the ה of the possessive suffix, giving אֲפֵהֶם instead of either אֲפִיהֶם, or אֲפֶם/אֲפִם. Both

1 Notably, *DCH* and *BDB* read the form as being from אָפֶה, whereas *HALOT* emends the pointing to make it read as אָר, along with the Syriac [ܐܪܐܝܬܐ = *rwgzhwn*] and the Targum [רגזהון], both of which must be reading אָר and translating it with the root *rgz*, ‘anger’. Major English translations *NRSV*, *ESV*, and *NIV* all read it as אָר, agreeing with *HALOT*’s emendation, but only the *JPS* reads it as still being from אָפֶה.

2 A more thorough treatment of the Hebrew will be given in the exegetical contributions chapter.

options are certainly plausible.³ For the present chapter, this occurrence will not be included as direct evidence for concepts related to baking, though it can be used to describe cooking contexts, which themselves inform our understanding of the concepts.

Finally, in a few cases אִפֵּה appears in the *Nif'al binyan*. These occurrences themselves do not constitute a different set of concepts, but rather act as the mere passives of the *Qal* form. Therefore, they will be included as straightforward examples of the concepts below.

Root and cognate information: There is a related noun, מֵאִפֶּה (baked item) found in Leviticus 2:4, as well as the participle, אִפֶּה, which is discussed above. Both may be used to assist the analysis of the concepts, though neither can stand as direct evidence of them.

אִפֵּה also has well-known cognates in other Semitic languages, including Aramaic, Sabaic, Ugaritic, Phoenician, and Akkadian, which corroborate the straightforward conclusion here that the Hebrew lexeme is concerned with baking.⁴

3 However, an electronic search will show that no other III-ה verb in the participle shows this tendency of dropping the root ה before the suffix. Nevertheless a compelling argument for אִפֵּה comes from Deist, *The Material Culture of the Bible*, 194–195. He suggests that, based upon cooking realia, the wood must be stirred or else it does not properly burn down. If the oven is sealed, then the fire seems to sleep or almost go out, though it is only smouldering. When the oven is then opened, the inrush of oxygen causes the smouldering wood to burst into flame and therefore scorch any bread left in it. This will be discussed in the exegetical contributions chapter in greater detail.

4 Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period*, Dictionaries of Talmud, Midrash, and Targum 2 (Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 1990), 69: אִפֵּה; Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods*, Dictionaries of Talmud, Midrash, and Targum 3 (Ramat-Gan: Baltimore: Bar Ilan University Press; Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 155: אִפֵּה; Joan Copeland Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic, Sabaean Dialect*, Harvard Semitic Studies 25 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1982), 25: 'FY; Gregorio del Olmo Lete and Joaquín Sanmartín, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*, trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson, Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section 1, The Near and Middle East ; Handbuch Der Orientalistik 67 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003), 92: 'py; Charles R. Krahmalkov, *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 90 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Department Oosterse Studies, 2000), 69: 'P–Y; Martha T. Roth, ed., *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 4.247–248: epû.

Versions: In the majority of straightforward baking scenarios, the LXX reads *πέσσω*, a simple ‘bake’ verb, where the Hebrew has *אָפֶה*.⁵ In both Leviticus 7:9 and 24:5, however, the LXX reads *ποιέω*, more generically ‘make’. For the instances where *אָפֶה* is used as a title, the LXX has a variety of options: in Genesis either *ἀρχιστοποιοός*, ‘chief baker’, or simply *στοποιοός*, ‘baker’, is used as a title for a baker, whereas in 1 Samuel 8:13 a participle of *πέσσω* is given for the same purpose. In Jeremiah 37:21 (LXX=44.21), in place of the Hebrew ‘street of the bakers’ (*חֹיץ הָאֲפִים*), the LXX uses a relative clause ‘(place) where they bake’ (*οὗ πέσουσιν*). In Hosea 7:4 the LXX appears to read the Hebrew as indeed being from the root *אָפֶה*, but reads it as a nominal form, perhaps because of the initial *מ*, and so gives the noun *πέψις* ‘baking’, which is the corresponding noun to the abovementioned verb *πέσσω*. The form in Hosea 7:6, which in Hebrew could be either from the root *אָפֶה*, ‘bake’, or the root *אָפַח*, ‘anger’, is given in the LXX as *Ἐφράμ*, probably reading *אֶפְרַם*, instead of the MT *אֶפְרַיִם*.

The Targumim translate each verbal occurrence of *אָפֶה* by the equivalent root *אָפִי*, but each of the participial forms, those used to denote the profession of ‘baker’, are translated by the Aramaic professional title *נחתום*. The one particularly interesting translation is in Hosea 7:6 where the Targum has *רְגִיזִיזִי* as compared to the Hebrew *אֶפְרַיִם*, as discussed above.

Formal characteristics: As a III-ה form, this verb has potential for confusion, particularly with the root *אָפַח*, as can be observed in Hosea 7:6.

Concepts:

אָפֶה has two major concepts associated with it under the cognitive domain of [FOOD PREPARATION]:

2.1.1 [CREATE BY INDIRECT DRY HEATING]

This concept profiles the end of a process whereby indirect dry heating takes place. An English example would be ‘bake a cake’, whereby ‘bake’ could possibly be replaced by ‘make’. The landmark, in this case ‘cake’, does not become a cake until the end of the process. What is put in the oven is merely a mixture of ingredients. Therefore, by virtue of the fact that the landmarks for this concept are exclusively cooked products, the profile must cover the endpoint, but not the beginning or middle of the process. While the profile reflects the creation of a new entity, the base represents the manner (by indirect dry heat), the location (in an oven or with another dry heating installation), and the beginning and endpoints of the active process (the assembling of ingredients and the

5 There are eleven such cases, including both occurrences in Exodus 16:23.

tending of the uncooked food item when in the oven). A clear example of this concept is found in Leviticus 26:26:

בְּשִׁבְרִי לָכֶם מִטֶּה־לֶּחֶם וְאָפוּ עֶשְׂרֵי נָשִׁים לַחֲמֶכְכֶּם בְּתִנּוֹר אֶחָד וְהִשְׁיבוּ לַחֲמֶכְכֶּם בַּמִּשְׁקָל
וְאָכַלְתֶּם וְלֹא תִשְׂבְּעוּ:

When I break your staff of bread, ten women shall bake your bread in a single oven, and they shall dole out your bread by weight; and though you eat, you shall not be satisfied.

Selectional Restrictions: The primary landmark specified by this frame is a cooked food item and the evidence suggests that it should be a bread-type item.

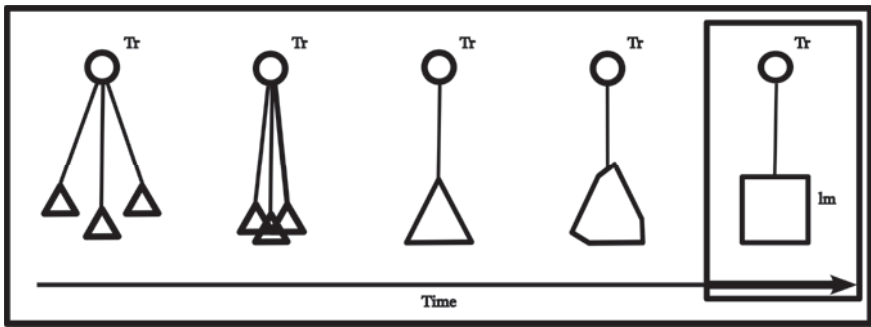


FIGURE 4.1 Temporal process expressed by אָפָה-[CREATE BY INDIRECT DRY HEATING].

As with other [CREATE] concepts, the endpoint is profiled and therefore is the focal point of the concept. The previous parts of the process are included in the concept's base and therefore are not included in the highlighted section.

Texts: Gen 19:3; Lev 7:9, 23:17, 26:26; Is 44:15, 19; Eze 46:20

Unclear: Ex 16:23

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים הוּא אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה שְׁבִתוֹן שְׁבִת־קֹדֶשׁ לִיהוָה מִחָר אֶת אֲשֶׁר־תֹּאפֹּו אָפוּ
וְאֶת אֲשֶׁר־תִּבְשְׁלוּ בִשְׁלוּ וְאֶת כָּל־הָעֹדֶף הִנִּיחוּ לָכֶם לְמִשְׁמַרְת עַד־הַבֹּקֶר:

he said to them, 'This is what the LORD has commanded: "Tomorrow is a day of solemn rest, a holy sabbath to the LORD; bake what you want to

bake and boil what you want to boil, and all that is left over put aside to be kept until morning.”

As is immediately obvious, the landmark for the concept attached to אָפֶה here is ‘that which you will bake’ and therefore remains taxonomically unclear without any further evidence. The linguistic context does not help much in this matter; the narrative has the Israelites gathering manna in the wilderness and therefore either they are commanded to bake whatever of the collected manna they plan to bake, or, they are commanded to bake (create) whatever final item they plan to bake (create) with manna as an ingredient. In both options, the manna would be the pre-cooked item. The problem with this situation is that the manna is referred to in verse 22 by means of the lexeme לֶחֶם, which typically denotes a finished product. This is not too difficult a problem to overcome, given that, according to the story, the Israelites themselves had no name for this food item and so the author may simply be using the closest related term within the language, namely לֶחֶם.⁶ Therefore, we return to the situation where the Israelites are taking manna and baking something. If the two concepts provided here for אָפֶה represent the only two choices available, then the evidence would lean toward placing Exodus 16:23 under אָפֶה-[CREATE BY INDIRECT DRY HEATING], simply because there is no secondary landmark provided and so it would not fit the typical ditransitive use of אָפֶה-[MAKE X (into) Y BY BAKING].

2.1.2 [MAKE X (into) Y BY INDIRECT DRY HEAT]

This concept profiles both the beginning and end points of an indirect dry heating process. English does not typically use such a concept within food preparation, but a well-formed, albeit strange, example may be ‘make dough into bread’. This concept, furthermore, requires dual landmarks, the uncooked food item and the cooked final product. Within the base is included the manner (indirect dry heat), the location (an oven-type facility), and the middle of the temporal process (the active cooking stage). An example may be found in Exodus 12:39:

וַיֹּאכְלוּ אֶת־הַבֶּצֶק אֲשֶׁר הוּצֵאוּ מִמִּצְרַיִם עֹגֶת מִצּוֹת כִּי לֹא חָמֵץ כִּי־גֵרְשׁוּ מִמִּצְרַיִם וְלֹא יִכְלוּ לְהִתְמַהֵמֶה וְגַם־צִדָּה לֹא־עָשׂוּ לָהֶם:

6 It should also be noted that לֶחֶם could also simply refer to food in general.

They baked unleavened cakes of the dough that they had brought out of Egypt; it was not leavened, because they were driven out of Egypt and could not wait, nor had they prepared any provisions for themselves.

Selectional Restrictions: The primary landmark selectional restrictions for this concept are uncooked bread ingredients, whether flour or dough. Naturally, the secondary landmark—the finished product—is a cooked food item. The representative texts also exclusively demonstrate that it is to be a bread item.

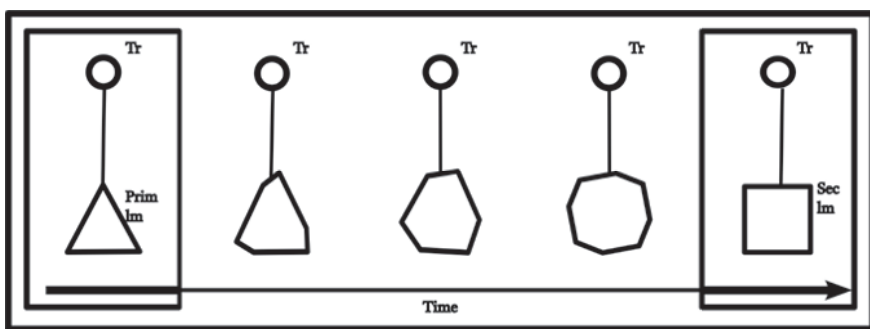


FIGURE 4.2 Temporal process expressed by תַּאֲפָה-[MAKE X (into) Y BY INDIRECT DRY HEAT].

As illustrated by the diagram, the focus is on the beginning as well as the end of the process.

Texts: Ex 12:39; Lev 24:5; 1 Sam 28:24

Unclear: Lev 6:10

לֹא תֹאֲפָה חֶמֶץ חֶלֶקֶם נָתַתִּי אֹתָהּ מֵאֲשֵׁי קֹדֶשׁ קֳדָשִׁים הוּא כַּחֲטָאת וְכֹאֲשָׁם:

It shall not be baked with leaven [into leavened bread]. I have given it as their portion of my offerings by fire; it is most holy, like the sin offering and the guilt offering.

The problem with this verse lies with whether or not חֶמֶץ is to be read as 'leaven' or 'leavened bread'. Both *HALOT* and *DCH* suggest that the word could represent either meaning. For the present purpose, however, one is left to decide between 'bake with leaven' or 'bake (into) leavened bread'. If the former is correct, then this passage ought to be included with תַּאֲפָה-[CREATE

BY INDIRECT DRY HEATING] instead. If the latter is correct, then it could remain here, under אָפֶה-[MAKE X (into) Y BY INDIRECT DRY HEAT]. The difference in selectional restrictions of the two concepts may provide a way forward. The subject of the *Nif'al* verb תִּאָפֶה in this case is the flour of the grain offering mentioned two verses earlier. If this is indeed the primary landmark, the thing that undergoes baking, then that would line up more closely with the selectional restrictions of אָפֶה-[MAKE X (into) Y BY INDIRECT DRY HEAT]. This would then also suggest that הֶמֶץ here represents the secondary landmark, and therefore the cooked food item. If true, then this means that Leviticus 6:10 is one instance where הֶמֶץ means ‘leavened bread’ rather than ‘leaven’, and a better translation would be ‘It shall not be baked as/into leavened bread...’⁷

2.2 בשל

Occurrences: HB/OT: ×28 (×26 *Pi'el*/*Pu'al*; ×1 *Qal*; ×1 *Hif'il*)

The use of the verb בשל in Ezekiel 24:5 is problematic for *binyan* classification. By its morphology alone, it could be taken either as *Pi'el* or *Qal*.

מִבְּחֵר הַצֹּאן לְקֹחַ וְגַם דּוֹר הָעֲצָמִים תַּחְתֶּיהָ רִתַּח רִתְחֶיהָ גַּם־בְּשָׁלוֹ עֲצָמֶיהָ בְּתוֹכָהּ

If it were a *Pi'el*, then it would be explained as a plural imperative form, with the middle root letter having lost its *binyan*-specific *daghesh* because its vowel was reduced to a *shewa*. This is the light in which most major English translations read it:

Take the choicest one of the flock, pile the logs under it; boil its pieces, seethe also its bones in it. (NRSV)

This reading makes sense of the context—God commanding Ezekiel to perform a series of activities. However, there are two difficulties with asserting the *Pi'el* over *Qal* in this instance. The first is that the other imperatives in the verse are singular. Why the author would move from singular imperatives to a plural is unclear. There is no indication of a switch in grammatical subject that might ease this difficulty. The second problem is that the Septuagint reads the verb as

7 Interestingly, the other verse with similar phrasing is Leviticus 23:17, but there the language suggests a creation concept (hence its inclusion in the earlier creation concept) rather than a conversion concept as displayed here.

a third person singular form, and therefore must have read the Hebrew form as a *Qal* suffixed conjugation rather than a *Pi'el* imperative:

ἐξ ἐπιλέκτων κτηνῶν εἰλημμένων καὶ ὑπόκαιε τὰ ὅστ᾽ ὑποκάτω αὐτῶν ἔξεσεν
ἔξεσεν καὶ ἡψῆται τὰ ὅστ᾽ αὐτῆς ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς

There is, therefore, no immediate answer to the problem of this verse. Given the previous imperatives, one would expect yet another imperative here. Yet, the verb is plural whereas the previous ones were singular. It is into this stalemate that one might introduce the insights of cognitive domains. As shown above, the clear *Pi'el*/*Pu'al* uses of בָּשַׁל all take place within the cognitive domain of food preparation. The clear *Qal* and the *Hif'il* forms, though only occurring once each, seem to operate within the cognitive domain of agricultural events (ripening and the like). In Ezekiel 24, the domain is clearly food preparation. With this added information from cognitive domains, we may with more confidence read this form in Ezekiel 24:5 as a *Pi'el*, and thus an imperative, rather than a *Qal* perfect/suffixed tense. Admittedly, this position must be tentative given the singular-plural switch, but for the present purposes, it will be calculated among the *Pi'el* occurrences, and therefore will add to our understanding of cooking concepts.

Root and cognate information: The root בָּשַׁל is used also in two other Biblical Hebrew lexemes. The adjective בָּשֵׁל, as seen in its two uses in Exodus 12:9 and Numbers 6:19, is used in like manner, with the same cognitive domain, as the *Pi'el* form of the verb. There is also a form, מִבְשָׁלוֹת, found in Ezekiel 46:24, which was included in the distributional information of the verb, and yet it is possible that this form, though derived from the verb, was understood as a word in its own right. This would come as no surprise, as participles are not uncommonly adopted as the noun form by which to specify a person who performs the verbal action. For example, see the treatment of אֲפֵקָה ('baker') above. The unusual characteristic of מִבְשָׁלוֹת, however, is that it does not denote a person who performs a boiling action. Rather, it seems to denote a place wherein that action takes place, that is, a kitchen. This would mean that the participle is here acting more like a verbal root with a prefixed מ. See, for comparison, the nominal form מִזְבֵּחַ, deriving clearly from זָבַח, and is, therefore, a place for sacrificing, i.e. an altar. It is also notable in Ezekiel 46:24 that the Septuagint renders the form מִבְשָׁלוֹת with the lexeme μαγειρεῖον, a noun denoting a place for cooks.

καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς με οὗτοι οἱ οἴκοι τῶν μαγειρείων οὗ ἐψήσουσιν ἐκεῖ οἱ
λειτουργοῦντες τῷ οἴκῳ τὰ θύματα τοῦ λαοῦ

As will be shown below, בָּשַׁל is normally translated with the verb ἔψω, and the participle of בָּשַׁל by the participle of ἔψω or its cognate adjective ἐφθός.⁸ Perhaps, then, the Septuagint translator believed the initial מ in Ezekiel 46:24 to mark a nominalized form, rather than a participle. This may, then, add weight to the suggestion that מְבַשְׁלוֹת in Ezekiel 46 is indeed to be understood as a noun in its own right, as HALOT has decided in giving it its own lexical entry.

בָּשַׁל has known cognates in other Semitic languages, including Ethiopic ('cook/be cooked'), Mandaic ('boil, cook, roast, scorch, burn, seethe'), Aramaic ('cook, roast, suppurate'), Ugaritic ('cook'), and Akkadian ('boil').⁹

Versions: In the Septuagint, ἔψω (usually 'boil') is the standard translation for בָּשַׁל, and occurs in 23 of its instances; ἐφθός, a cognate adjective for ἔψω, is used in 1 Samuel 2:15, where the Hebrew has a *Pu'al* participle. Προσφέρω, normally 'bring' or 'offer', is used once, in Exodus 34:26, to translate בָּשַׁל, contrary to expectation. This is the verse that contains the prohibition against cooking a kid in its mother's milk. What is peculiar, however, is that the other two parallel texts, Exodus 23:19 and Deuteronomy 14:21, use the expected ἔψω in the Septuagint. Why one of the three verbatim parallels in Hebrew is slightly changed in the Greek is unclear. One might be able to explain the difference between the Exodus and Deuteronomy passages by appeal to different translators for the different books. But that cannot answer the distinction between the two Exodus passages.¹⁰ Finally, there is one place where בָּשַׁל is used in the Hebrew and ὀπτάω, usually 'roast', is the Greek translated value. This is the case for the first of the two occurrences of בָּשַׁל in 2 Chr 35:13. A brief look at the verse in Hebrew will illustrate the reasons for such a move:

וַיִּבְשְׁלוּ הַפֶּסַח בָּאֵשׁ כַּמִּשְׁפָּט וְהַקֹּדְשִׁים בָּשָׁלוּ בַסִּירֹת וּבַדֹּדִים וּבַצִּלּוֹת וַיִּרְצוּ לְכָל-בְּנֵי
הָעָם:

8 The two locations other than Ezekiel 46:24 where the participle of בָּשַׁל is used are: Exodus 12:9 and 1 Samuel 2:15.

9 Wolf Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez (classical Ethiopic): Ge'ez-English, English-Ge'ez, with an Index of the Semitic Roots* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1987), 109: basala; Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*, 115: בָּשַׁל; Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*, 250: בָּשַׁל; E. S. Drower and Rudolf Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 71: BŠL; Olmo Lete and Sanmartín, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*, 1.242: b-š-l; Roth, *CAD*, 2.135-137: bašālu.

10 For the opinion of a single translator for Exodus, see Ernst Würthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament: An Introduction to the Biblia Hebraica*, 2nd ed., rev. and enl. (Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans, 1995), 53.

καὶ ὥπτησαν τὸ φασεχ ἐν πυρὶ κατὰ τὴν κρίσιν καὶ τὰ ἅγια ἤψησαν ἐν τοῖς χαλκείοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς λέβησιν καὶ εὐοδώθη καὶ ἔδραμον πρὸς πάντας τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ

In all likelihood, it was the element **בָּאֵשׁ** (in comparison to **בְּסִירֹת**) that led the translator to conceive of the action as roasting over fire, therefore employing **ὀπτάω**, the standard translation for **הִצִּיל**, rather than conceiving it as boiling in a pot. The Hebrew itself remains confusing; what does **וַיִּבְשְׁלוּ הַפֶּסַח בָּאֵשׁ** mean? Does **בִּשַׁל** here entail liquid, as one normally expects from this lexeme, or does it mean something like ‘roast’ or simply ‘cook’? If the Passover prescription in Exodus 12:8–9 can be any guide, one would expect that the **פֶּסַח** here was meant to be roasted. In this Exodus passage the Passover is to be roasted with fire, **שֶׁלֶּי־אֵשׁ**, whereas to boil it was prohibited. However, Deuteronomy 16:7 presents the Passover cooking technique simply with **בִּשַׁל**, which, given no other context, one would assume it entails boiling or stewing something in liquid. If these two Passover accounts truly are divergent, then one could argue that the confusing Chronicles account is simply a harmonization of the two.¹¹ For the present purpose, this confusing text in Chronicles cannot figure as a straightforward case in the analysis of **בִּשַׁל**, but must be addressed, rather, in the exegetical contributions chapter.

Finally, in the above paragraphs it was decided that the *Qal* form in Joel 4:13 and the *Hif'il* form in Genesis 40:10 were to be excluded from the analysis of **בִּשַׁל** as a term denoting a cooking activity. It was said that these two forms do not fit into the cognitive domain of food preparation. In support of this decision, one could look to the Septuagint for its translation of the relevant passages. In Joel 4:13, where the Hebrew has the *Qal* form, the Greek employs the verb **παρίστημι**. In Genesis 40:10, where the Hebrew uses the *Hif'il* form, the Greek uses **πέπειρος**. In neither of these two cases do we see the expected **ἐψω** that we saw for most instances of **בִּשַׁל**, nor do we, in fact, see lexemes related to food preparation at all. Therefore, when we exclude these two texts from our analysis, we can do so with strengthened confidence knowing that the ancient translator would have done the same.

The Targumim display an interesting pattern when translating the Hebrew **בִּשַׁל**. In most instances, the Aramaic lexeme used is the same as in Hebrew.

11 For this discussion and a short bibliography of others who have dealt with this problem, see Ralph W. Klein, *2 Chronicles*, ed. Paul D. Hanson, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 522.

However, there are two exceptions. In each of the occurrences of boiling a kid in its mother's milk (Exodus 23:19; 34:26; Deuteronomy 14:21), the Targumim choose the verb **אכל** instead of **בשל**. This is clearly a reinterpretation of the biblical text and does not add anything to our understanding of the Hebrew **בשל**. The other exception is 2 Chronicles 35:13. In this case, the Targum makes the same move as the LXX, and provides a clearer 'roast' verb, in **טוי**. The significance of this verse and its translation is borne out in the exegetical contributions chapter.

Formal characteristics: As shown above, in the Hebrew Bible all but two occurrences of this lexeme are in the *Pi'el/Pu'al binyan*. In most respects, this is also a strong verb. The possible minor exception to this is that the middle *w* may drop its *daghesh* if it is followed by a vocal *shewa* as could be the case in Ezekiel 24:5 if the form there were read as a *Pi'el* imperative rather than a *Qal* suffixed conjugation.

Concepts:

בשל has two major concepts associated with it under the [FOOD PREPARATION] cognitive domain:

2.2.1 [CREATE BY HEATING LIQUID]

This concept profiles the endpoint of a process of heating liquid. An example is that of making stew. In English, one commonly uses the verb 'make', whereas in Hebrew the verb provided may be **בשל**. Here, the beginning and midpoints of the process are unprofiled, and the manner (heating liquid) is included in the base. It would not be a stew if it were not heated as a liquid. Furthermore, this concept also includes in its base the fact that the process is undergone in a container, such as a pot. The only clear example of this concept is found in 2 Ki 4:38:

וַאֲלִישָׁע שָׁב הַגְּלָגְלָה וְהָרָעַב בְּאֶרֶץ וּבְנֵי הַנְּבִיאִים יֹשְׁבִים לִפְנָיו וַיֹּאמֶר לְנַעֲרוֹ שְׂפֹת הַסֵּיר
הַגְּדוֹלָה וּבִשֵּׁל נָזִיד לְבְנֵי הַנְּבִיאִים:

When Elisha returned to Gilgal, there was a famine in the land. As the company of prophets was sitting before him, he said to his servant, 'Put the large pot on, and make some stew for the company of prophets'.

Selectional Restrictions: This concept requires that the landmark be a cooked liquid food item.

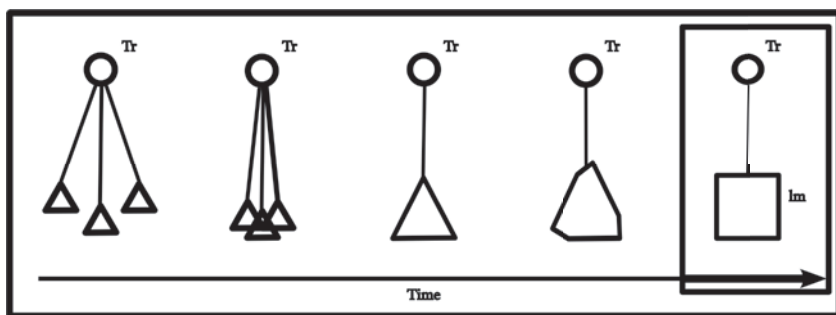


FIGURE 4.3 Temporal process expressed by בשל -[CREATE BY HEATING LIQUID].

As illustrated by this diagram, the focus of the concept is on the final point of the process, as shown by the fact that the landmark is a cooked item (and not the item to be cooked). Moreover, the base of the concept contains the earlier, understood part of the process: taking some liquid with whatever it may contain and heating it and thereby changing it and making it into the final cooked product.

Text(s): 2 Ki 4:38

2.2.2 [CHANGE OF STATE]

This second concept associated with בשל profiles the beginning of a scene. An English example would be 'boil a potato'. According to this example, the landmark, 'potato', is considered a potato both at the beginning and the end of the process. No new product has been created. However, a change of state has occurred wherein the potato is now, at the end of the process, cooked. Hebrew examples for such a concept are abundant. The majority of the uses of the verb בשל are concerned with the cooking of meat, often explicitly given as boiling flesh. At both the beginning and end of the process, the landmark remains the same entity—in this case flesh or meat. It has merely been cooked. However, it must be noted that it is the beginning of this process that is actually profiled under this concept. The base is what includes the middle and endpoints of the process, the manner (in hot liquid), and that it is performed in a pot or similar container. The language user understands what the result of the process is, but the concept itself draws attention to the beginning. This concept can be demonstrated by the following passage:

Exodus 23:19:

ראשית בכורי אֲדָמָתְךָ תָּבִיא בֵּית יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לֹא־תִבְשֹׁל גִּדִּי בַחֲלֵב אֱמֹז:

The choicest of the first fruits of your ground you shall bring into the house of the LORD your God. You shall not boil a kid in its mother's milk.

The focus is on the kid, prior to the cooking process, and therefore is an uncooked item. Numbers 6:19 provides further elaboration:

וְלָקַח הַכֹּהֵן אֶת־הַזֶּרֶעַ בְּשֵׁלָה מִן־הָאֵילִן וְחֵלֶת מִצָּה אֶחָת מִן־הַסֶּלֶ וְרִקִּיק מִצָּה אֶחָד וְנָתַן
עַל־כַּפֵּי הַנָּזִיר אַחֵר הַתְּגַלְתּוֹ אֶת־נִזְרוֹ:

The priest shall take the shoulder of the ram, when it is boiled, and one unleavened cake out of the basket, and one unleavened wafer, and shall put them in the palms of the nazirites, after they have shaved the consecrated head.

Here the text is referring to a piece of meat after having been boiled. This suggests that the boiling activity is performed on the uncooked meat until it is cooked. There is no creation of a new item, since both before and after, it is referred to by the same term זֶרֶעַ.

Selectional Restrictions: This concept requires that the landmark be a form of uncooked meat.

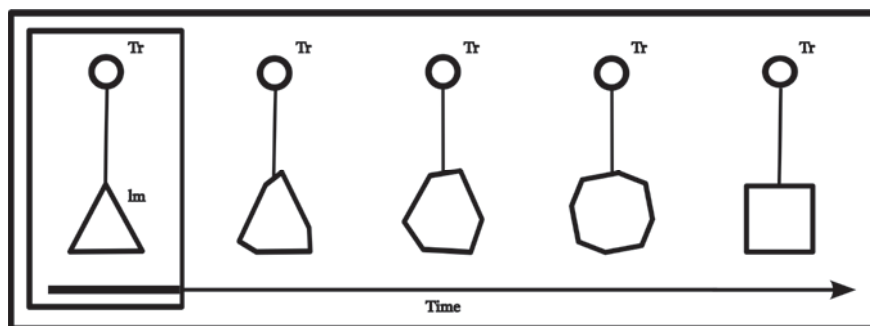


FIGURE 4.4 Temporal process expressed by בָּשַׁל-[CHANGE OF STATE].

As illustrated by this diagram, the focus of this concept is on the beginning of the temporal process. This is demonstrated by the fact that the landmark is always an uncooked item. The remainder of the temporal process—causing the item to undergo a change of state and thereby become cooked—constitutes the base of the concept. Therefore, if these elements were not present, then it could not be considered בָּשַׁל-[CHANGE OF STATE].

Texts:

Clear Cases: Ex 12:9; 16:23; 23:19;¹² 29:31; Lev 6:21; 8:31; Nu 11:8; Deut 16:7; 1 Sam 2:15; 1 Ki 19:21; 2 Ki 6:29; 2 Chr 35:13;¹³ Lam 4:10; Eze 24:5; 46:20, 24.

Unclear:

1 Sam 2:13:

וּמִשְׁפֹּט הַכֹּהֲנִים אֶת־הֵעָם כָּל־אִישׁ זִבְחָהּ וְזָבַח וּבָא גַּעַר הַכֹּהֵן כְּבִשְׁלֵי הַבֶּשֶׂר וְהַמִּזְלֶה
שְׁלֹש־הַשָּׁנִים בְּיָדוֹ:

... or for the duties of the priests to the people. When anyone offered sacrifice, the priest's servant would come, while the meat was boiling [while he was boiling the meat], with a three-pronged fork in his hand, ...

What is unclear about this text is how the *Pi'el* infinitive is being used. The NRSV translation provided above suggests that the verb is intransitive and that הַבֶּשֶׂר is the subject of the verb. If it were intransitive, then the concept would be different than the ones offered above. It would profile the manner (viz. boiling) and not the temporal process at all. It would have no eye to the beginning or the end of that process. However, in no other case does one find the *Pi'el* of this verb acting as an intransitive.¹⁴ Instead, what one might expect is that the implied subject of the infinitive is אִישׁ, that is, the one offering the sacrifice, and that the infinitival phrase would then be woodenly rendered, 'at the time of (his) boiling of the meat ...' Even with this, though, there remains a potential problem. When an infinitive in prose takes a definite direct object, it also usually takes the accusative marker, which is not present here. But this need not be determinative. There are indeed other cases where the definite direct object of an infinitive does not take the accusative marker.¹⁵ As this is, then, allowable, the answer that solves the most difficulties is to read the verb form here in 1 Samuel 2:13 as transitive, and therefore as fitting with the above-described בָּשַׁל-[CHANGE OF STATE] concept.

12 This is the passage about boiling a kid in its mother's milk. It is repeated also in Ex 34:26 and Deut 14:21, but I have not put these latter two in the list due to the verbatim repetition.

13 As already mentioned, it is the second of the two occurrences of בָּשַׁל that should be considered as part of this concept, whereas the first does not seem to fit.

14 Arguably, the passage below, Zechariah 14:21 could be an example of an intransitive use, though it is less likely.

15 See, for example, Genesis 2:4 and Amos 3:14.

Zech 14:21:

וְהָיָה כָּל-סִיר בִּירוּשָׁלַם וּבִיהוּדָה קֹדֶשׁ לַיהוָה וּבָאוֹת צִבְאוֹת וּבָאוּ כָּל-הַזְּבָחִים וְלָקְחוּ מֵהֶם
וּבִשְׁלוּ בָהֶם וְלֹא-יִהְיֶה כֹנָעַן עוֹד בְּבֵית-יְהוָה צִבְאוֹת בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא:

... and every cooking pot in Jerusalem and Judah shall be sacred to the LORD of hosts, so that all who sacrifice may come and use them to boil the flesh of the sacrifice. And there shall no longer be traders in the house of the LORD of hosts on that day.

The difficulties here are not insurmountable, but they nevertheless cannot provide the same confidence as the clear cases above. In this verse, the very last of the book of Zechariah, there is no direct object given. It is clearly not an intransitive verb, unless one were to suggest that the people themselves would undergo boiling, or that the subject must be an otherwise unmentioned sacrifice. Therefore, the object is what is likely implied. This leaves the reader with three options: the object is a liquid food item that is being created by heating in a pot (e.g. stew), the object is the food item (e.g. meat) being boiled, or it is the liquid in which something may be cooked (e.g. water). The first would align with the concept given above בִּשַׁל-[CREATE BY HEATING LIQUID]. Grammatically, this is indeed possible, but is nevertheless unconvincing. The context shows that sacrificing is in mind, and בִּשַׁל used in a sacrificial setting has never yet suggested the creation of a stew. Instead, what is contextually expected is the cooking of a meat item in heated liquid, thus the concept בִּשַׁל-[CHANGE OF STATE]. The NRSV translation above shows their hand and supplies an object ‘the flesh of the sacrifice’ and thereby reads it according to this concept.¹⁶ The final option, that of focusing on heating the liquid itself, is also possible, but as with the first option, is unlikely. In this case, it is not ill-suited to the context, though it might be unexpected. Rather, the concept implied by such a use—[CAUSE TO BE TURBULENT]—is already connected to a different lexeme, רָתַח, which will be described in detail below. It is not impossible for two lexemes to cover the same concept, and therefore the weight of the evidence cannot hang on this suggestion alone. However, because the [CHANGE OF STATE] option is already strongly linked with the sacrificial system, and because this third option would constitute a conceptual overlap with another lexeme, it seems most appropriate to side with the NRSV here, though perhaps without supplying the object in a translation of the verse. Because of this, Zechariah 14:21 will be counted among the texts that use the בִּשַׁל-[CHANGE OF STATE] concept.

¹⁶ See also, for example, ESV and JPS.

Outliers: There remain two occurrences of **בשל** that have not yet been discussed. These are found in 2 Samuel 13:8 and 2 Chronicles 35:13. I have placed them here to be included under **בשל**-[CHANGE OF STATE], but because they are forms that are deeply intertwined with the exegesis of the passage, I will leave them to be analysed in the final chapter on exegetical contributions, where this placement will be justified.

2.3 עשה

Occurrences: HB/OT: ×2627 (×2527 *Qal*; ×99 *Nif'al*; ×1 *Pu'al* [*qal* passive?])

Given the vast number of occurrences of the lexeme **עשה** within the HB corpus, it requires a certain degree of delimitation. For the present study, only the food related occurrences will be dealt with directly. Other occurrences unrelated to food preparation may be used simply to corroborate claims made about the various concepts that employ **עשה**. The thirty-four occurrences (little more than 1% of total occurrences) used here are:

Genesis: 18:6, 7, 8; 27:4, 7, 9, 14, 17, 31

Exodus: 12:16; 29:2

Leviticus: 2:7, 8, 11; 6:14; 7:9

Numbers: 11:8

Judges: 6:19; 13:15

1 Samuel: 25:18

2 Samuel: 12:4 *2; 13:5, 7, 10

1 Kings: 17:12, 13 *2

Ecclesiastes: 10:19

Jeremiah: 7:18; 44:19

Ezekiel 4:9, 15

Most of these occurrences are, as expected by the general distribution of **עשה**, found in the *Qal binyan*. Six of the occurrences are found in the *Nif'al*, all of which are found in the prescriptive material of Exodus and Leviticus.

Root and cognate information: There is a derived noun, **מַעֲשֶׂה**, which denotes a cooked or otherwise prepared food item when the context signals food preparation, much like the derived noun **מַאֲכָל** does for **אָכַל**.¹⁷ The two relevant occurrences of **מַעֲשֶׂה** are found in Genesis 40:17 and 1 Chronicles 9:31.

17 Certainly **מַעֲשֶׂה** has a more general meaning denoting the product of one's work. With food, naturally, it denotes the product of the act of cooking or preparation.

Evidence from comparative languages is of much less significance here, when the lexeme occurs so frequently in the Hebrew Bible. Nevertheless, cognates may be found, for example, in Ugaritic ('make, process, work'), Punic ('make'), Sabaic ('make, do, acquire, buy'), and Aramaic ('force, compel').¹⁸

Versions: It comes as no surprise to discover that all of the food related occurrences of עשה are represented by the corresponding ποιέω, 'make/create', in the Septuagint. Likewise the Aramaic עבד is the expected typical value given in the Targumim.

Formal characteristics: According to *HALOT*, there are two other verbs which employ the root עשה, though both of these, at most, occur only a handful of times and their content does not interfere with the present analysis.

Concepts:

The concepts associated with עשה are not, as is obvious, particular to food preparation alone. As mentioned above, however, only the examples related to food preparation have been extracted. The ensuing problem that arises, then, is how to classify the cognitive domain employed in constructing the meaning of these occurrences. Is it [FOOD PREPARATION] as with the other lexemes, or is it simply [MAKE/CREATE], which happens to be applied to food preparation on occasion? As will be suggested below, the verb does not specify the method of preparation, but rather only the making of the product, whatever that product may be. Therefore, in order not to create an overly artificial divide between עשה occurrences related to cooking and those not related to cooking, I will here maintain that the cognitive domain should be [MAKE/CREATE]. Nevertheless, the primary information provided will be derived from cooking scenarios.

For the current study, עשה has three relevant concepts associated with it under the [MAKE/CREATE] cognitive domain:

2.3.1 [CREATE]

This concept is construed as a sequential event, with a change occurring through the duration of the verbal action. The trajector, a person, creates a

18 Interestingly, this extremely common verb in Hebrew is represented less in other languages and where it is, the meaning is often rather different from what it is in Hebrew. Olmo Lete and Sanmartín, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*, 190: ʿ-š-y; Krahmalkov, *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary*, 389: ʿ-š-y; A. F. L. Beeston et al., *Sabaic Dictionary (English-French-Arabic)* (Louvain-la-Neuve; Beyrouth: University of Sanaa, 1982), 20: ʿSʿY; Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*, 873: ʿעס.

new product out of available materials. Within this concept, the process and the manner of creating are left unprofiled.¹⁹ Only the endpoint of the process is profiled. This is made clear by the fact that the landmark, usually the direct object, is the finished product (e.g. a cake), rather than the materials from which the end product is made. Part of the base consists of the fact that the final product is derived from some other pre-existing materials. The landmarks for this concept are entities whose creation comes from applying some process to pre-existing material in order to make them something new (e.g. cakes made from fine flour). This is why one sometimes finds the materials being enumerated.

A possible example of this concept may be found in Genesis 18:6

וַיִּמְהַר אַבְרָהָם הָאֱלֹהִים אֶל-שָׂרָה וַיֹּאמֶר מַה־רִּי שְׁלֹשׁ סָאִים קֶמַח סִלָּת לְוָשִׁי וְעָשִׂי עֲגֹת:

And Abraham hastened into the tent to Sarah, and said, 'Make ready quickly three measures of choice flour, knead it, and make cakes'.

Selectional Restrictions: The selectional restrictions for עָשָׂה-[CREATE] when it is applied to cooking suggest that the primary landmark is to be a cooked or otherwise prepared food item. It does not, unlike some of the other cooking concepts, specify the type of food, whether bread, stew, or something else. This is due to the fact that the process and means of cooking are left unprofiled by עָשָׂה-[CREATE].

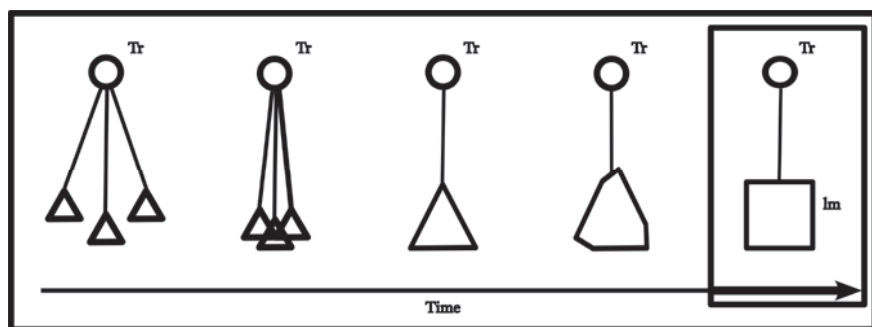


FIGURE 4.5 Temporal Process expressed by עָשָׂה-[CREATE].

19 The process and manner may be included in the profile-base-domain relations for other words in the utterance. That is, 'make a cake' requires an understanding of how cakes are made, but this is derived from the set of relations for 'cake' and not for 'make'

As with other [CREATE] concepts, the endpoint is profiled and therefore is the focal point of the concept. The previous parts of the process are included in the concept's base and therefore are not included in the highlighted section.

Texts: Gen: 18:6; 27:4, 7, 14, 17, 31; Ex: 12:16; 29:2 Lev: 2:7, 8, 11; 6:14; 7:9; 2 Samuel 13:10; 1 Kings 17:13*2; Ecc 10:19; Jer 7:18; 44:19; Eze 4:15

Unclear:

Exodus 12:39:

וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֶת־הַבֶּצֶק אֲשֶׁר הוֹצִיאוּ מִמִּצְרַיִם עֲגֹת מִצּוֹת כִּי לֹא חָמֵץ כִּי־גִרְשׁוּ מִמִּצְרַיִם וְלֹא יִכְלּוּ לְהַתְמָהֳמָהּ וְגַם־צִדָּה לֹא־עָשׂוּ לָהֶם:

They baked unleavened cakes of the dough that they had brought out of Egypt; it was not leavened, because they were driven out of Egypt and could not wait, nor had they prepared any provisions for themselves.

The problem with the use of עָשָׂה in this verse is whether or not צִדָּה refers to a cooked/prepared or to an uncooked/unprepared entity. If it is the former, then Exodus 12:39 would sit comfortably under the present concept, and עָשָׂה could be rendered as 'create' or 'make' in English. If it is the latter, then this verse should be listed under the concept below, [PREPARE AN UNPREPARED ITEM]. Given that the typical scenario for צִדָּה is that it is taken or given for someone who is going on a journey, it would be most logical to assume that it represents something that is immediately edible, perhaps a cured meat if the etymological connection to צִיד 'hunt' is pressed.²⁰ Therefore, since a prepared item is more plausible, Exodus 12:39 can remain under עָשָׂה-[CREATE].

2 Samuel 13:5–7:

וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ יְהוֹנָדָב שֹׁכֵב עַל־מִשְׁכַּבְּךָ וְהִתְחַל וּבֵא אֶבִיד לְרֹאוֹתְךָ וְאָמַרְתָּ אֵלָיו תְּבֹא נָא תָמַר אַחֻזִּי וְתִבְרַנִּי לֶחֶם וְעִשְׂתָּה לְעֵינֵי אֶת־הַבְּרִיָּה לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר אֶרְאֶה וְאֶכְלִיתִי מִיָּדָה:

20 There is a possible exception to the suggestion that צִדָּה represents an immediately edible item. The exception arises from the *kethiv* in Genesis 27:3, where Esau is told to "צִוְדָה צִידָה." The *qere* reading of צִיד fits the context better, as that form is used several other times in the same chapter to denote the same thing. Regardless of which of the two readings is preferred, the context suggests that either form would denote the game for which Esau hunts. Therefore, it is used differently to all the uses of צִידָה, and can be dismissed from this analysis.

וַיִּשְׁכַּב אֲמֹנֹן וַיִּתְחַל וַיֵּבֵא הַמֶּלֶךְ לְרֹאשׁוֹ וַיֹּאמֶר אֲמֹנֹן אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ תְּבוּאָה־נָּא תִּמְרַךְ אַחֲתִי וַתִּלָּבֵב לְעֵינָי שְׁתֵּי לֶבְבֹת וַאֲבָרָה מִיָּדָה: ⁷ וַיִּשְׁלַח דָּוִד אֶל־תִּמְרַךְ הַבֵּיתָה לֵאמֹר לְכִי נָא בֵּית אֲמֹנֹן אַחִיד וַעֲשִׂי־לּוֹ הַבְּרִיָּה:

⁵ Jonadab said to him, ‘Lie down on your bed, and pretend to be ill; and when your father comes to see you, say to him, “Let my sister Tamar come and give me something to eat, and prepare the food in my sight, so that I may see it and eat it from her hand.”’ ⁶ So Amnon lay down, and pretended to be ill; and when the king came to see him, Amnon said to the king, ‘Please let my sister Tamar come and make a couple of cakes in my sight, so that I may eat from her hand.’ ⁷ Then David sent home to Tamar, saying, ‘Go to your brother Amnon’s house, and prepare food for him’.

A fair amount of cooking language is employed in this chapter, but clarity nevertheless is elusive. For both instances of עָשָׂה, the object is הַבְּרִיָּה. What is unclear is what הַבְּרִיָּה is, and therefore whether or not it is a final product or something that requires preparing. Furthermore, there appears to be a connection between עָשָׂה and לָבַב—both being associated with לָעֵינִי. Does this mean that there is a link in meaning between עָשָׂה and לָבַב? Because the meaning is tied up intrinsically with the exegesis of the larger passage, firm conclusions must wait until their proper place in the exegetical contributions chapter. For the present, if one can trust the tentative suggestions of the lexica, הַבְּרִיָּה can in some way be considered as food representing a special diet, perhaps for health reasons. If that is the case, then it seems more likely that הַבְּרִיָּה would refer to the healthy food that one is to eat, rather than the healthy ingredients that one makes into something unknown. If this speculation is allowed, then the two uses of עָשָׂה in this passage would more plausibly belong to עָשָׂה-[CREATE].

2.3.2 [MAKE X (into) Y]²¹

For this concept, displaying a ditransitive construction, both the beginning and endpoint of the process are profiled, but the manner and the process in between are left unprofiled, like the concept described above.²² It profiles a transformation from one state to another; the trajector, a person, takes an uncooked item or ingredients and transforms it/them into something different.

21 A slightly more explicit expression in English would be “Transform X into Y”, though this is one more step removed from the syntax of the Hebrew, and therefore is less preferable.

22 A ditransitive construction is where a verb takes two direct objects, such as the English ‘give him water’

A clear example may be found in Numbers 11:8:

שָׂטוּ הָעָם וּלְקָטוּ וְטָחְנוּ בְּרַחִים אֹךְ דָּכוּ בַמִּדְכָה וּבְשָׁלוּ בַפָּרוֹר וַעֲשׂוּ אֹתוֹ עֲגֹזֹת וְהִיָּה טַעְמוֹ
כְּטַעַם לֶשֶׁם הַשֶּׁמֶן:

The people went around and gathered it, ground it in mills or beat it in mortars, then boiled it in pots and made cakes of it; and the taste of it was like the taste of cakes baked with oil.

As a ditransitive construction, then a clearer, albeit more awkward, English translation would be ‘made it cakes’.

Selectional Restrictions: The selectional restrictions for עָשָׂה-[MAKE X (INTO) Y] when it is applied to cooking suggest that the first landmark is to be an uncooked or otherwise unprepared food item. The second landmark specifies the cooked or otherwise prepared item that is derived from the activity applied to the first landmark. This concept, as expected, does not specify the type of food nor the process or means of cooking.

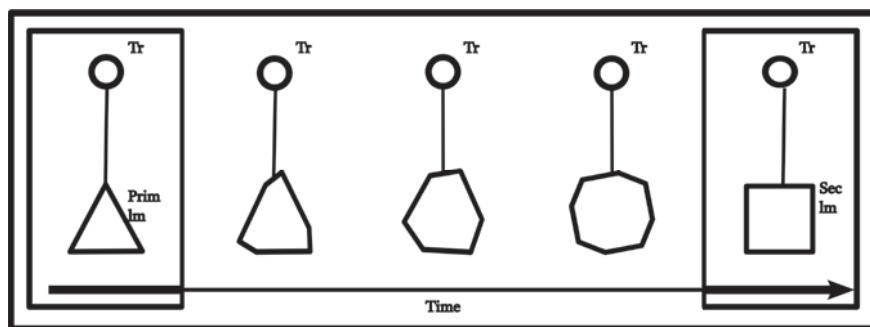


FIGURE 4.6 Temporal process expressed by עָשָׂה-[MAKE X (INTO) Y].

As presented by the diagram, both the beginning and end points of the process are highlighted by the concept, though the middle is left unprofiled.

Texts: Gen 27:9; Nu 11:8

Ex 30:25, 35—these exhibit the same tendencies, though the landmarks are not food-related items. They simply corroborate the existence of the present concept.

Unclear:

Judges 6:19:

This verse is handled below under עשה-[PREPARE AN UNPREPARED ITEM]

Ezekiel 4:9:

וְאַתָּה קַח-לָךְ חֲטִין וְשַׁעֲרִים וּפּוֹל וְעֵדְשִׁים וְדַחַן וְכַסְמִים וְנִתְתָּה אוֹתָם בְּכֵלִי אֶחָד וַעֲשִׂיתָ אוֹתָם לָךְ לֶלֶחֶם מִסֵּפֶר הַיָּמִים אֲשֶׁר-אַתָּה | שׁוֹכֵב עַל-צִדְךָ שְׁלֹשׁ-מֵאוֹת וְתִשְׁעִים יוֹם תֹּאכְלֶנּוּ:

And you, take wheat and barley, beans and lentils, millet and spelt; put them into one vessel, and make bread for yourself. During the number of days that you lie on your side, three hundred ninety days, you shall eat it.

The problem in Ezekiel 4:9 revolves around the ל in לֶלֶחֶם. If it is used as an object marker, similar to אֶת-, then the verse would naturally remain under the present concept and the relevant section could be translated ‘make them (into) bread for yourself’.²³ If the ל were used as a preposition not marking the object, then there would only be one object here and would not qualify as a ditransitive construction and therefore could not be considered under this concept. However, reading ל as marking the object is preferable, both because it makes for a clean syntax, but also because it would be unusual for the final product to be absent from the landmark(s) and yet be mentioned in the immediate syntactical context. As shown in the following concept, when the beginning of the process is profiled, focusing on the uncooked/unprepared item, then the final product is left unmentioned. Therefore, on the balance, Ezekiel 4:9 seems more likely to belong to עשה-[MAKE X (INTO) Y].

2.3.3 [PREPARE AN UNPREPARED ITEM]

This concept, unlike the previous two, profiles only the beginning of a temporal process. The focus, therefore, is on the item to be prepared. In common

23 For the use of ל as a direct object marker in a wide range of texts, see Paul Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, Subsidia Biblica 14/1–14/2 (Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblio, 1991), § 125 k.

with the other two concepts, however, is the fact that the means is left out of focus. Just how the item is prepared is either unknown or is specified by something else in the text. Technically, this concept is also a [CHANGE OF STATE] concept, but the present title is slightly more descriptive.

An example from Judges 13:15 will suffice to illustrate the concept:

וַיֹּאמֶר מָנוּחַ אֶל־מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה נַעֲצְרֶה־נָּא אוֹתְךָ וְנַעֲשֶׂה לְפָנֶיךָ גְּדִי עִזִּים:

Manoah said to the angel of the LORD, 'Allow us to detain you, and prepare a kid for you'.

Selectional Restrictions: The only apparent selectional restriction for the landmark is that it be portrayed as an unprepared item. There are examples both of meat and of bread products, and therefore the landmark is not restricted by food type.

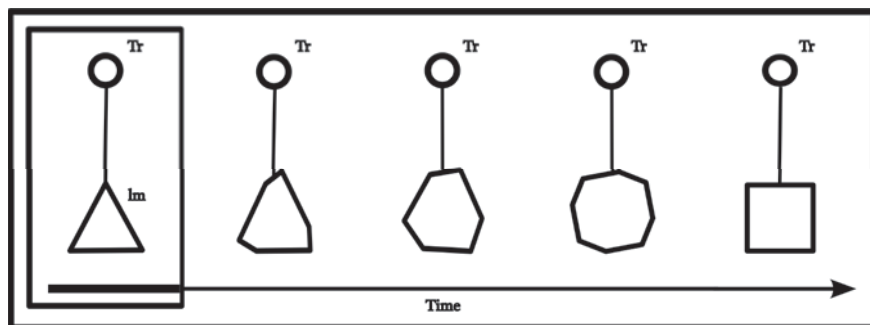


FIGURE 4.7 *Temporal process profiled by עשה-[PREPARE AN UNPREPARED ITEM].*

Naturally, it is the beginning of the temporal process that is profiled, with the unprepared item in focus.

Texts: Genesis 18:7–8; Judges 13:15; 1 Samuel 25:18; 2 Samuel 12:4*2; 1 Kings 17:12

Unclear:

Judges 6:19:

וַיִּגְדְּעוּן בָּא וַיַּעַשׂ גְּדִי־עִזִּים וְאִי־פֶתֶק־מֶחַ מִצֹּת הַבָּשָׂר שֶׁם בֶּסֶל וְהַמָּרְק שֶׁם בַּפֶּרֶר וַיֹּצֵא
אֵלָיו אֶל־תַּחַת הָאֵלֶּה וַיִּגֶשׁ:

So Gideon went into his house and prepared a kid, and unleavened cakes from an ephah of flour; the meat he put in a basket, and the broth he put in a pot, and brought them to him under the oak and presented them.

It is clear in Judges 6:19 that the immediate landmark is the kid, which Gideon sets out to prepare for his guest. The kid is the unprepared item, made clear by the fact that the different language of ‘meat’ and ‘broth’ stands in as the final product later in the verse. The confusion, however, centres rather on the second food item listed—unleavened cakes from an ephah of flour. This second situation appears to fit rather under הָעָשָׂה -[MAKE X (INTO) Y] described above. There are two objects, the flour and the cakes—one denoting the beginning and the other the end of the process. The question, then, is whether one instance of a lexeme can represent two concepts at the same time. By all accounts, that seems to be the case here. A patch-work translation could then be:

and he prepared (הָעָשָׂה -[PREPARE AN UNPREPARED ITEM]) a kid, and he made (הָעָשָׂה -[MAKE X (INTO) Y]) an ephah of flour (into) unleavened cakes.

3 Uncommon Lexemes

3.1 בָּעָה

Occurrences: HB/OT: $\times 2$ (*Qal* $\times 1$; *Nif'al* $\times 1$)

Root and cognate information: HALOT suggests a link to the Arabic form *bġw*, meaningsomethinglike ‘swell’, which adds confidence to our assertions below.²⁴

Versions: In Isaiah 64:1, the Greek translation uses *κατακαίω*, typically translated ‘burn, burn up’, where the Hebrew has *בָּעָה*. However, the Septuagint has a somewhat different translation for the entire verse anyhow. Instead of water boiling, as per the image in the MT, the LXX instead has enemies being burnt up—*κατακαύσει πῦρ τοὺς ὑπεναντίους*. Whether the translator had a divergent *Vorlage* or some other reason for this different translation, in any case, the Greek does not seem to illuminate the meaning and use of *בָּעָה*. A similar problem occurs in Isaiah 30:13, which again is slightly different than the MT and uses a slightly different image. In this case, where the MT suggests a bulg-

²⁴ Koehler et al., HALOT, 141.

ing wall, perhaps about to fall, the LXX suggests a wall suddenly falling, *τείχος πίπτει παραχρήμα*. Therefore, as with the previous example, the LXX does not seem to offer a translation of *בעה* here either.

In Targum Jonathan at Isaiah 30:13, the corresponding Aramaic lexeme is *אתחמר*, a passive form related to being ‘piled up’. At Isaiah 64:1 the Aramaic differs considerably from the Hebrew, even more than the LXX, and speaks of the sea melting (*מסי*) rather than a wall bulging.

Formal characteristics: *בעה* is a homonymous root, according to *HALOT*. It suggests that there are two other verbs using this same trilateral root, one having to do with searching and the other having to do with grazing.²⁵ BDB, on the other hand, collapses all three into one root with a wide range of meaning.²⁶

Further difficulty arises from the obvious features of a final *ה* and a middle *ע*, which would theoretically affect the Masoretic pointing, particularly if it were found in the D *binyan*.

Concepts:

בעה has only one concept associated with it, insofar as can be determined through the dearth of its occurrences.²⁷ This concept may be given a provisional title as [BULGE OUT].

The two occurrences are found in Isaiah 30:13 and 64:1, given here respectively:

לְכֹן יִהְיֶה לָכֶם הָעֵז הַזֶּה כְּפֶרֶץ נָפֵל נִבְעָה בְּחֹמָה נִשְׁגְּבָה אֲשֶׁר־פִּתְאֹם לִפְתָּע יָבוֹא
שְׁבֵרָה:

therefore this iniquity shall become for you like a break in a high wall, bulging out, and about to collapse, whose crash comes suddenly, in an instant;

כַּקִּדְחַן אֵשׁ הַמַּסִּים מִים תִּבְעָה־אֵשׁ לְהוֹדִיעַ שְׁמִי לְעֲרִיף מִפְּנֵי גוֹיִם יִרְגְּזוּ:

as when fire kindles brushwood and the fire causes water to boil—to make your name known to your adversaries, so that the nations might tremble at your presence!

²⁵ Ibid., 141–142.

²⁶ BDB, 126.

²⁷ This is predicated upon differentiating, as *HALOT* does, between the three homonymous roots.

As illustrated by these examples, one would either need to posit two separate concepts, one for boiling and one for bulging, or find something common to both of them. On the side of separation is the fact that one is in the *Qal* and the other in the *Nif'al binyan*. On the side of continuity is the fact that both bulging and boiling could be envisaged by one image—a bulge or, in reference to hot liquid, a bubbling or undulating surface. In either case, a great deal of speculation is required. Perhaps what would push the speculation toward harmony would be the alternative absurdity of splitting a triliteral root into three different lexemes, and then taking one of those three (occurring only twice) and splitting that into two separate concepts (occurring only once each). Further, as is the case with so many rare words, cognate information may provide much needed aid. If the cognate Arabic word *bgw* means something like ‘swell’, then it seems more likely that the common feature is the visual image of something rounded or bulging out. When applied to a wall, this would appear as though it were about to fall. With liquid, it would be bubbling up. If this all is true, then it is reasonable to suggest that the concept is something akin to [BULGE OUT].

The salient participants for this concept are difficult to categorize. In Isaiah 64:1, the trajector appears to be a fire fuelled by brushwood, and the landmark is water. This is different from most other cooking concepts, chiefly because the trajector is not a person. This is not an insurmountable problem, but the participant arrangement in Isaiah 30:13 poses further difficulties. Here, we have an intransitive use of the verb, whereby the trajector, the wall, is said simply to bulge out. There is no visible landmark given. Therefore, it would be more prudent to suggest that the basic concept is [BULGE OUT], which does not take a landmark. The *Qal* use renders it transitive—[MAKE X BULGE OUT]. These two processes are given diagrammatically here:

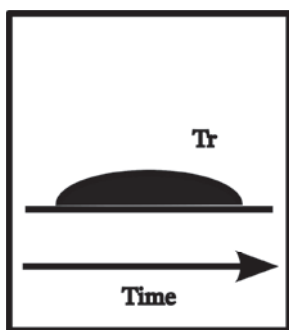


FIGURE 4.8

Temporal process profiled by בעה-[BULGE OUT].

As expressed by the diagram, the temporal process here is conceived of as stative rather than dynamic. The trajector bulges outward. The image is a state,

describing the shape or contour of the trajector, in the case of Isaiah 30:13 a wall. This represents the use of בעה in the *Nif'al*. The transitive use of the *Qal* has a rather different temporal process.

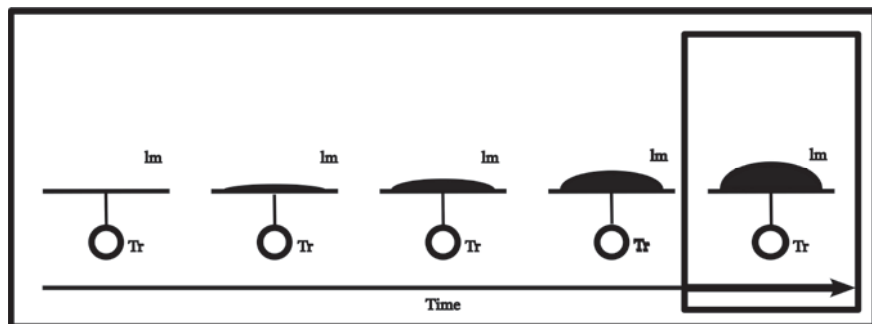


FIGURE 4.9 Temporal process profiled by בעה-[MAKE X BULGE OUT].

This diagram displays both a trajector and a landmark, as well as a change over time. This change indicates a dynamic temporal profile rather than the stative profile given in the previous diagram.

Texts: Isaiah 30:13, 64:1

3.2 זי

Occurrences: HB/OT $\times 1$ (*Hif'il* $\times 1$)

The lexeme זי is used 10 times in the Hebrew Bible, twice in the *Qal* and 8 times in the *Hif'il*. Here, however, I have chosen to exclude all but one of these. There are good reasons for doing so. First, the occurrence in Genesis 25:29 is the only one that has anything to do with cooking. The rest of the occurrences (including those in the *Qal*) are to do with one's insolent behaviour. Second, the occurrence in Genesis is the only one where the lexeme is used transitively. Even the other *Hif'il* occurrences are intransitive. Third, there is good reason to believe that this זי, whether from the same root as the other occurrences or not, is somehow connected to the nominal form זין, meaning something like 'stew'. Fourth, this is the only occurrence where the LXX uses ἐψω, itself meaning something like 'boil' or 'make stew'.²⁸ Therefore, one can conclude that the use of זי in Genesis 25:29, if not unrelated to the other occurrences, at least

²⁸ See section on versions below.

represents a different concept than they do, and therefore it can be analysed separately here.

Root and cognate information: There are one or possibly two nouns related to יִיד: יִידִּי, and possibly יִידִּן. The former, as mentioned, represents stew or pottage. The latter is found in Psalm 124:5 and refers to wild waters. Whether the wild waters are conceived of as being insolent or whether they are to be compared with the heating of a liquid like a stew is debatable. One need not be concerned to make a decision here, as this would in any case be a metaphorical application of the lexeme and would not provide direct evidence for the literal meaning behind יִיד.

The cognate languages present little to no correlates for the food-related use of יִיד. This is not entirely surprising given its dearth in the Hebrew text and the fact that it is a denominative verb from the noun יִידִּי and not a standalone verb.

Versions: In the LXX of Genesis 25:29 one finds the verb ἑψω, which means something like ‘boil’ or ‘seethe’. The Greek follows the Hebrew in providing a cognate accusative, in this case ἑψεμα, meaning something like ‘pottage’ or ‘stew’. This is the only one of the occurrences of the trilateral root יִיד that is translated with a boil-type verb. Likewise, the Aramaic Targumim choose the more generic lexeme בָּשַׁל to denote the making of stew.²⁹

Formal characteristics: I suggest that, based on the argument above, יִיד may actually be a homonymous root, and that there is one instance in Genesis 25:29 where this cooking verb occurs. It is also a hollow/biconsonantal root and is therefore liable for morphological ambiguity, such as with the other ‘insolent’ lexeme.

Concept:

יִיד, when it relates to cooking, represents another [CREATE]-type concept. In this case, it can be titled [CREATE STEW]. It is possible that ‘stew’ here may be too specific, but given that it only occurs once and that that occurrence has יִידִּי, stew, as the object (and landmark), one can surely conclude that the verbal concept includes the type of food being made.³⁰ This can be seen in the text of Genesis 25:29:

29 This aligns comfortably with the text concerning Elisha’s stew in 2 Kings 4, which is also described both in Hebrew and Aramaic as בָּשַׁל.

30 This is in contrast to the more generic verbal concept attached to עָשָׂה, described above.

וַיֵּצֵד יַעֲקֹב נָזִיד וַיָּבֹא עָשָׂו מִן־הַשָּׂדֶה וְהוּא עָיִף:

Once when Jacob was cooking a stew, Esau came in from the field, and he was famished.

Therefore, the landmark selects for some type of stew or pottage, as represented by נָזִיד. The base of the concept must include the other inherent aspects of making a stew—presumably that it happens in a container, with heat, and that it is the product of a variety of ingredients, both liquid and solid.³¹

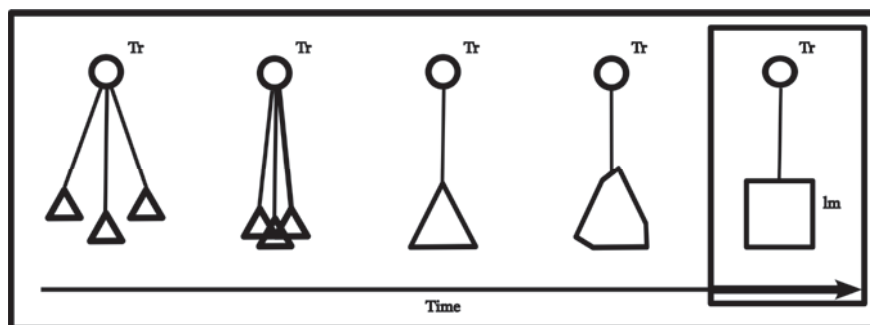


FIGURE 4.10 The temporal process profiled by נָזִיד-[CREATE STEW].

As with other [CREATE] concepts, the end of the process is profiled. Ingredients are not the focal point of the process. Rather, the end product is.

Text: Gen 25:29

3.3 לָבַב

Occurrences: HB/OT: ×2 (P'el ×2)

Both occurrences of this verb are found in 2 Samuel 13, the story of Amnon's rape of Tamar.

Root and cognate information: Related to the verb לָבַב is the noun לֶבְבָהּ, denoting some type of cake or bread product. The relation to the common noun לֵב or לֶבֶב is not entirely clear. Some, like HALOT, have suggested that לֶבְבָהּ means a heart-shaped pastry or cake, while others have suggested that it may be a

³¹ We find in verse 30 Esau famously calling the stew 'that red stuff' (הָאָדָם הָאָדָם הַזֶּה), though in verse 34 we have a clearer description of the stew as being from lentils (עֲדָשִׁים).

cake meant for someone who is ill, and would therefore revive or ‘give heart’ to the ailing person.³² According to either of these two options the noun לִבְכָּה, and by extension the denominative verb לָבַב, is related to the common noun לֵב or לִבָּ. To assert that the food resembled the shape of a heart is an interesting claim to make. What did ancient Israelites think that hearts looked like? It was probably not the same as today’s stylized heart-shape! People likely knew the shape of the actual human heart, not least because of Egypt’s embalming practices, but that could be a strange shape for a pastry or cake. If it resembled a heart, then it probably looked like a lumpy oblong dinner roll. Given such a strange speculation, and given the fact that the Hebrew context is that of a sick person, it is more likely that the bread, regardless of its shape, was designed to give heart to a sick person, and therefore to revive him or her. However, a third option may be that it is entirely unrelated to ‘heart’ and is merely its homonym. The dearth of lexical occurrences does not allow for much surety, but again, if the falsely ailing Amnon in the linguistic context of 2 Samuel 13 has anything to add to the discussion, then perhaps ‘enheartening’ food is the most convincing option.

Corroboration for the noun לִבְכָּה meaning something like a cake comes from both Old South Arabian and Akkadian, which show a *lbb*-related noun meaning something like a cake.³³ Nevertheless, a problem arises in the Hebrew text of 2 Samuel 13, where not only is Tamar described as performing the verb לָבַב on the לִבְבוֹת, but also the action of בָּשַׁל in verse 8. As discussed above, בָּשַׁל normally pertains to boiling a food item, which suggests perhaps that לִבְבוֹת are dumplings of some kind. More on this will be discussed in the discussion of 2 Samuel 13 in the exegetical contributions chapter.

Versions: The LXX provides the verb κολλυρίζω, whose meaning is connected to its cognate accusative κολλυρίς, meaning something like a cake or baked bread item.³⁴ The early evidence for this lexeme and its related forms comes only from this text in the LXX and Josephus’ *Antiquities*, where he recounts this very story. Therefore, the Greek does not provide much useful information for the present purpose.

The Targumim provide slightly more information. Instead of maintaining the root לָבַב, equally comprehensible in Aramaic, the Targum of Samuel uses

32 A. Graeme Auld, *I & II Samuel: A Commentary* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2011), 478.

33 Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic, Sabaean Dialect*, 256–257: LBB; Roth, *CAD*, 9.164ff: libbu.

34 T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, Rev. ed. (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 405.

the verb חָלַט, which denotes something to the effect of mixing, or stirring flour in hot water, making dumplings, etc.³⁵

Formal characteristics: לָבַב is a homonymous root, sharing space with a verb for whom *HALOT* ascribes a meaning ‘to get understanding’ or ‘to steal, enchant the heart’ in the *Nif'al* and *Pi'el* respectively. The present cooking verb also comes from a geminate root, though this poses little problem because its two occurrences are both in the *Pi'el binyan* and no letter is dropped. As argued already, the verb is furthermore a denominative verb, being derived from the type of food item being created—לֶבְבָה.

Concepts:

There is only one observable concept associated with the cooking verb לָבַב. It is, rather simply, [CREATE לֶבְבָה]. Though the concept is simply described, the argument for such a concept is not so straightforward. A look at its two occurrences, in 2 Samuel 13 verses 6 and 8 respectively, will illustrate the problem:

וַיִּשְׁכַּב אֲמֹנֹן וַיִּתְחַל וַיֵּבֶא הַמֶּלֶךְ לִרְאֹתוֹ וַיֹּאמֶר אֲמֹנֹן אֶל-הַמֶּלֶךְ תָּבוֹא-נָא תָמָר אֲחֹתִי
וַתֵּלֶבֶב לְעֵינָי שְׁתֵּי לֶבְבֹת וְאַבְרָה מִידָה:

So Amnon lay down, and pretended to be ill; and when the king came to see him, Amnon said to the king, ‘Please let my sister Tamar come and make a couple of cakes in my sight, so that I may eat from her hand’.

וַתֵּלֶךְ תָּמָר בֵּית אֲמֹנֹן אֲחִיהָ וְהוּא שָׁכַב וַתִּקַּח אֶת-הַבֶּצֶק (וַתְּלוֹשׁ³⁶) [וַתֵּלֶשׁ³⁷] וַתֵּלֶבֶב
לְעֵינָיו וַתַּבְשִׁיל אֶת-הַלֶּבְבֹת:

So Tamar went to her brother Amnon's house, where he was lying down. She took dough, kneaded it, made cakes in his sight, and baked [boiled/fried] the cakes.

In the first of these cases one sees a clear transitive verbal construction. The verb לָבַב takes a direct object, לֶבְבֹת. Therefore, there is a clear trajector, Tamar, and a clear landmark, the cakes. The second instance is less clear. At first

35 Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (Brooklyn: P. Shalom Publishing, 1967), 1.466: חָלַט.

36 *Kethiv*.

37 *Qere*.

glance, the verb **לִבֵּב** seems not to take an object at all, and one must decide whether or not it is intransitive here. If one maintains that it is still transitive, then an object must be sought. The most natural conclusion would be that the object was understood, something already given in the text. The previous direct object, however, was the dough, **הַבֶּצֶק**. This is an uncooked item and would require a different concept be posited, one that focused on the beginning of a temporal process and not on the end. It would therefore not be a [CREATE] concept. Is it, however, possible to see the cakes, the finished product, as the gapped direct object here? In support of such an argument, it could be that Tamar is said to perform two pairs of composite activities: to take and knead the dough, and then to **לִבֵּב** and to **בָּשַׁל** the **לֶבְבוֹת**. The first set would take the dough as object and the second pairing would take the cakes. But is this convincing? The ordering within the two pairs is different. For the first pair, the order is verb–object–verb (**לִקַּח–בֶּצֶק–לִישׁ**), whereas the second hypothetical pairing takes the order **לֶבְבוֹת–בָּשַׁל–לִבֵּב**, verb–verb–object. If the two pairs were meant to be parallel, then the different ordering renders such intentions less clear.

The ambiguity of this situation allows only for following the balance of evidence. If **לִבֵּב** here is intransitive, unlike two verses earlier, then no object need be posited. If it is transitive, however, then either the previously stated uncooked item (**הַבֶּצֶק**) is the object, or the cooked item is the object both of **לִבֵּב** and **בָּשַׁל**. None of these options provides completely satisfactory answers. Given, then, that the only other occurrence of **לִבֵּב** is transitive, and that both occurrences appear in the *Pi'el binyan*, I will here suggest prioritizing continuity and thus opting for reading it as transitive and for the object to be the cooked item, **לֶבְבוֹת**.

Therefore, based upon the clear reading of 2 Samuel 13:6 and the suggested reading of 13.8, it appears as though the landmark selects for the final product, which must be **לֶבְבוֹת**, the natural object for the related denominative verb. The base for the verb, however, is not easily deduced. The base is tied up directly with whatever was entailed in making **לֶבְבוֹת** in ancient Israel/Judah. Since this process is not yet well understood, all that can confidently be said is that the base for **לִבֵּב** involves anything inherent and essential for the process of making **לֶבְבוֹת**. We can suggest that it may require kneading dough, and that it may need to undergo a process described by the verb **בָּשַׁל**. This latter comment does not provide much clarity because, as seen earlier, the use of **בָּשַׁל** in 2 Samuel 13:8 is strange, and will be dealt with in the exegetical contributions chapter below.

The temporal process for this concept can be illustrated by the following diagram.

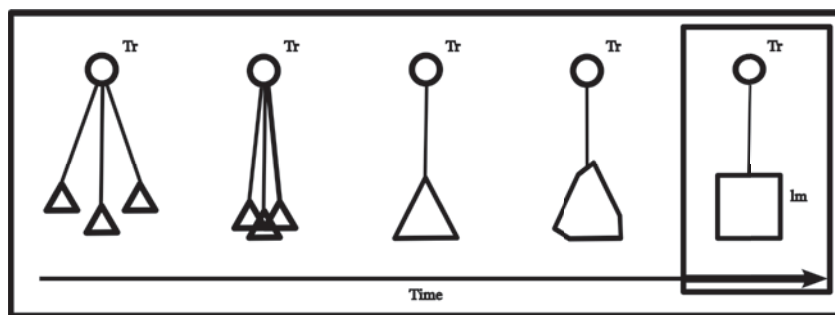


FIGURE 4.11 The temporal process profiled by לִבְבוֹת-[CREATE].

As is now expected by a [CREATE] concept, the focus of the temporal process is toward the end, the creation of a new item.

Texts: 2 Samuel 13:6

Unclear: 2 Samuel 13:8

3.4 עוג

Occurrences: HB/OT $\times_1$ (Qal)

Root and cognate information: There is a possible connection to the Egyptian 'wg, meaning something like 'roast' or 'cook'.³⁸ It is slim support, but at least something that could corroborate conclusions here. Information from other cognate languages is lacking. Again, the rarity of this verb and its denominative nature make for little surprise that comparative data is hard to find.

Versions: Where the HB/OT uses עוג for a cooking event, the LXX provides ἐγκρύπτω. Typically, this means something like 'conceal', hence the English cognate 'encrypt'. Interestingly, however, in the same way that the Hebrew verb עוג has as its object the related noun form עוגה, meaning something like 'cake', so

³⁸ Koehler et al., *HALOT*, 794; E. A. Wallis Budge, *An Egyptian Hieroglyphic Dictionary: With an Index of English Words, King List and Geographical List with Indexes, List of Hieroglyphic Characters, Coptic and Semitic Alphabets, Etc* (London: John Murray, 1920), 115; Raymond Oliver Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 40.

also the Greek ἐγχαρπτω has as its object the related noun ἐγχαρπία.³⁹ Is there something to be said for the etymology here, relating ἐγχαρπτω, and perhaps by extension עוג, to a cooking practice that involved some kind of concealing? It is possibly supported by the Targumic translation of this verse, which has the variants חרר/חרר. The latter of these probably related to the homonymous Hebrew root, בעה, concerned with drawing a circle (see below). The former, however, appears to denote boring a hole of some sort.⁴⁰ Both this and the connection to concealment suggested by the Septuagint remain very speculative. Such ideas will be evaluated below under concepts.

Formal characteristics: עוג is a biconsonantal, or hollow root, likely derived from the noun עֲגָה mentioned above. It may be related to the similar verb in Egyptian, 'wg, meaning something like 'parch' or 'roast'.⁴¹ According to *HALOT* and *DCH*, עוג is also a homonymous root, together with a verb meaning something like 'drawing a circle' and may have something to do, by analogy, to being 'bent'.⁴²

Concepts:

As there is only one occurrence of עוג in the Hebrew Bible, there is little to say about the verb and its interactions with other forms. However, given its connection to עֲגָה, it is likely that this noun is inherent in the verb's conceptual content. That is, the salient concept for עוג is [CREATE עֲגָה]. The one occurrence is found in Ezekiel 4:12:

וַעֲגַת שְׁעָרִים תֹּאכְלֶנָּה וְהָיָא בְּגִלְלִי צֹאֵת הָאָדָם תִּעְנְנָה לְעֵינֵיהֶם:

You shall eat it as a barley-cake, baking it in their sight on human dung.

As a [CREATE] concept, it is at least simple to illustrate the temporal process via a suitable diagram:

39 Gen 18:6; Ex 12:39; Nu 11:8; 1 Ki 17:12, 13; 19:6; Eze 4:12; Hos 7:8.

40 Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*, 485:1# חרר.

41 See note above.

42 Koehler et al., *HALOT*, s.v. 1-עוג; David J. A. Clines, *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2011), s.v. 6: עוג-1.

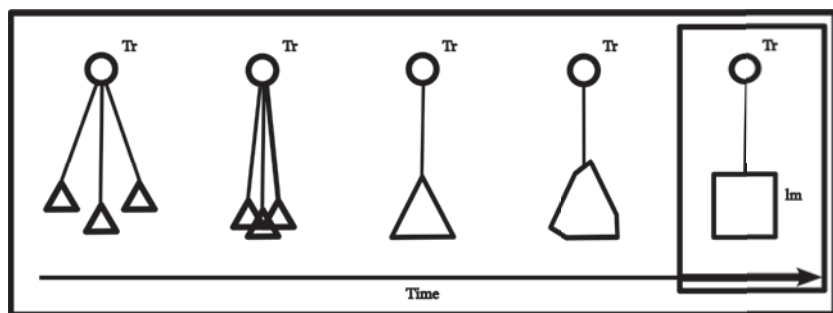


FIGURE 4.12

As expected, the trajector takes ingredients, applies some kind of cooking process to them in order to create the landmark $\eta\lambda\lambda$. The focus, therefore, is on the end of the temporal process and the landmark selectional restrictions are limited to $\eta\lambda\lambda$.

However, sketching the temporal process and labelling the landmark selectional restrictions does not explain the concept's base. For that, we must look both to archaeology and to textual data. That the LXX uses $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\rho\acute{\upsilon}\pi\tau\omega$ and its cognate accusative $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\rho\upsilon\phi\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ may suggest that, at least to the mind of the Greek translator, there was a practice of concealment involved in this baking activity. It is possible that the bread was placed in hot ashes or other fuel to cook. Comparative ethnographic evidence, as suggested in the archaeological chapter, could feasibly link this language to the practice of the Bedouin who use the *tabun* outside of the living space. They would pile the fuel (often poor quality fuel) on top of and around the *tabun* and then light it, burying the *tabun* in embers and ashes. Once the *tabun* is hot enough, they would pull back the fuel enough to open the oven and put cakes inside, and then cover it back up with embers until cooked (10–15 minutes later).⁴³ Therefore, it is conceivable that Ezekiel is to pile human dung on a *tabun* and bake the bread inside of it, much the way Bedouin would use the poor quality fuel for this kind of baking. The fact that the Greek translator used the preposition $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, rather than $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$, perhaps emphasizing that the bread is pictured as being inside something rather than upon it (as with open coals) also lends weight to such a suggestion. A final note of support for this idea is the fact that there are modern accounts where men would bake a flat cake of bread on the coals of a fire heated by cow

43 Avitsur, 'Way to Bread', 240.

or camel's dung.⁴⁴ If such is the practice today, then perhaps it is not so far-fetched for the ancient past. However, even if this is a correct reading of the LXX here, it unfortunately does not guarantee the same for the Hebrew עג, whose meaning here is more opaque.

What can be deduced, though, from the texts employing עג is that the cooking events there described usually have an element of haste and/or little supply (Sarah being told to make haste and prepare עגות; the Israelites not having time to make leavened bread so they made עגות מצות; Elijah telling the widow from Zarephath to make עגה קטנה from her final remaining provisions, etc.). This hurried and minimally provisioned baking activity lends itself to the *tabun*-style baking described above. At the least, this description lends credence to the possible link with the LXX and the Bedouin practices. It would also explain the strange use of human dung as a fuel source for the activity in Ezekiel 4:12. The *tabun*-style could incorporate any type of fuel, anything that would burn really, because the fuel burned on the outside while the bread was on the inside.

3.5 עלה

Occurrences: HB/OT ×3 (*Qal* ×3)⁴⁵

Root and cognate information: There is a corresponding adjectival form, עָלִי, which occurs three times in the Hebrew Bible.⁴⁶ In each of these occurrences some sort of a cooking event is described in relation to an open fire.

This lexeme, likewise, occurs in several cognate Semitic languages, including Palestinian and Babylonian Jewish Aramaic ('roast'), Ethiopic ('broil, roast'), Arabic ('roast, broil, fry'), and Akkadian.⁴⁷

Versions: All three instances of עלה in the Hebrew Bible correspond to ὀπτᾶω in the LXX, meaning something like 'roast' or 'bake'. The adjective, עָלִי, likewise,

44 Edward Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, vol. 2 (London: John Murray, 1841), 76; Gustaf Dalman et al., *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, vol. 4 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964), 20.

45 1 Sam 2:15, Is 44:16, 19.

46 Is 44:16, Ex 12:8, 9.

47 Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*, 465: #2 עָלִי; Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*, 965: 3# עָלִי; Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic)*, 556–557: ṣalawa 11; Edward William Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing, 1956), 4.1721b: ṣly; Roth, *CAD*, 16.124: ṣelû A.

is given as ὀπτός in two of its three instances, roughly meaning ‘roasted’ or ‘broiled’. In the third, Is 44:16, it is not translated directly.

The Targumim are likewise straightforward in their translation of the verb צלה, each time giving the ‘roast’ equivalent טי. This same root is also used to translate each of the occurrences of the adjective צלי.

Formal characteristics: As a III-ה verb, צלה would be liable to drop its final root letter were it found in a short prefixed-form (no extant examples), or change to צת in the infinitive form (as in 1 Samuel 2:15). Such behaviour does not affect the conceptual analysis here.

Concepts:

צלה has one concept associated with it that operates under the domain of [FOOD PREPARATION]:

[APPLY DIRECT DRY HEAT]

This concept profiles both the beginning of the process for a dynamic temporal event as well as the manner, direct dry heat. It is difficult to be certain about this concept, as the lexeme only occurs three times in the Hebrew Bible and it appears to overlap with the lexeme קלה, discussed below. However, a few comments may be made regarding what evidence we do have. In each of the three occurrences of this verb, meat is the direct object.⁴⁸ Therefore, we can conclude that, at least in the available examples, the landmark’s selectional restrictions are limited to meat. Furthermore, as with some of the earlier concepts related to meat preparation, the focus seems to be at the beginning of the temporal process. The clearest example is found in Isaiah 44:19:

וְלֹא־יָשִׁיב אֶל־לִבּוֹ וְלֹא דָעַת וְלֹא־תְבוּנָה לֵאמֹר חֲצִי שָׂרַפְתִּי בְּמוֹ־אֵשׁ וְאֵף אֶפִּיתִי
עַל־גִּחְלִי לֶחֶם אֲצַלֶּה בָּשָׂר וְאֵכֹל וְיִתְּרוּ לְתוֹעֵבָה אֶעֱשֶׂה לְבֹל עֵץ אֶסְגֹּד:

No one considers, nor is there knowledge or discernment to say, ‘Half of it I burned in the fire; I also baked bread on its coals, I roasted meat and have eaten. Now shall I make the rest of it an abomination? Shall I fall down before a block of wood?’

48 In Isaiah 44:16 the direct object is actually צלי, which, given the repetition of the situation in verse 19, can be confidently said to represent some kind of meat. Both of the other two occurrences of the verb have בשר as the direct object, which is clearly uncooked meat.

The profile of the concept then must include the idea of preparing the meat, whereas the base includes the notion of direct dry heat. The fact that it must be direct heat, thereby distinguishing it from baking (the process covered by אפה), derives from the mention that the cooking was done either over or upon a fire or coals. The rarity of the verb, as expected, must rein in one's confidence, but this distinction of direct or indirect heat would help to maintain a separation between the concepts associated with אפה and those associated with צלה. If this separation is indeed accurate, then צלה-[APPLY DIRECT DRY HEAT] is a concept that could be instantiated in a wide variety of physical contexts. That is, because fires are easy to create whether one is in a house or out in the fields, צלה-[APPLY DIRECT DRY HEAT] could be imagined in all sorts of spaces. If the kitchen was a domain belonging more to women, then צלה is a lexeme whose concept may be more apt to prototypical association with men than some of the other cooking concepts. More simply, צלה may be less rigid in its application than some other cooking verbs.

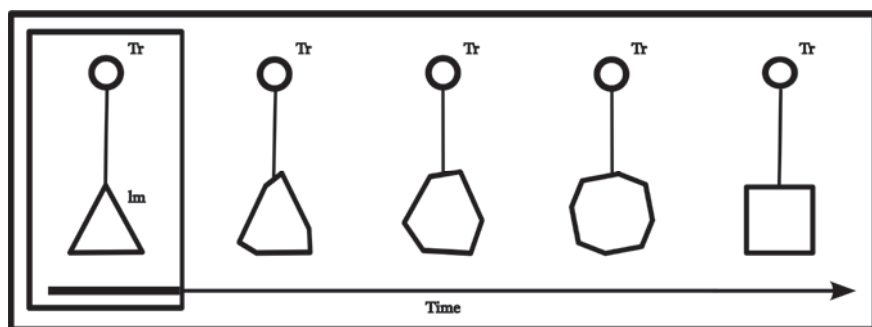


FIGURE 4.13 The temporal process profiled by צלה-[APPLY DIRECT DRY HEAT].

As explained above, the concept is weighted toward the beginning of the temporal process. The uncooked meat is the landmark and receives the action expressed by the concept.

Texts: 1 Samuel 2:15; Isaiah 44:16, 19

3.6 קלה

Occurrences: HB/OT: $\times 3$ or 5 (*Qal* $\times 3$; *Nif'al* $\times 2$?)

Counting the occurrences of this lexeme is rather difficult. There are three clear cases, all in the *Qal*, where either some type of food preparation is being described or something is being put into a fire. There are two other cases,

however, both occurring in the *Nif'al*, which may have something else in mind. In Psalm 38:8, the psalmist presents something as experiencing קלה, often translated as 'burning' or 'searing pain'.

כִּי־בָסָלִי מִלֵּאֵי נִקְלָה וְאֵין מָתָם בְּבִשְׂרִי:

For my loins are filled with burning, and there is no soundness in my flesh.

The subject, בָּסָל, while sometimes to do with one's confident attitude or folly, here likely refers to the psalmist's loins. The frequent mention in this psalm of flesh and its problems renders this conclusion very probable.⁴⁹ Does this verse, then, suggest that the psalmist's flesh is burning, as with fire or some other heat source? If so, then it should be included here, as most lexica arrange it.⁵⁰ If not, then it could be included as an instance of the homonymous root קלה, discussed below.

The other debatable inclusion comes from Deuteronomy 25:3:

אַרְבָּעִים יַכְנֹנּוּ לֹא יִסְיָי פְּנֵי־יִסְיָי לְהַכְתּוֹ עַל־אַלְהֵי מַכָּה רַבָּה וְנִקְלָה אֶחָיד לְעֵינָיֶד:

Forty lashes may be given but not more; if more lashes than these are given, your neighbor will be degraded in your sight.

In this case, the lexica tend to read the *Nif'al* of קלה as being from the other root, meaning something like 'degraded' as translated here in the NRSV. While degradation may be in view here, so also may be the experience of the neighbour's flesh. The lashes mentioned here and in the previous verse suggest that flesh is also in view. Might the point be that the flesh is experiencing burning or searing pain? Or, at least, might both the degradation and the burning be hinted at?

In favour of including both of these examples here, the *Qal* occurrence of קלה in Jeremiah 29:22 shows people being roasted in a fire. That is, their flesh was burned or roasted. However, the difference here is that there is actually a literal fire mentioned, whereas in Psalm 38:8 and Deuteronomy 25:3 that is not the case. Because no clear conclusion can be made as to whether to include these instances here or not, they will only be considered as marginal.

49 As is often the case, the reader may not need to choose between alternative possible meanings, and may be able to read a reference to the psalmist's flesh as also a subtle reference to his folly or confidence undergoing the disrepute of קלה.

50 Clines, though he includes it here, offers a parenthetical note suggesting the possibility that it may instead derive from the other homonymous root. Clines, *DCH*, VII: 254.

Root and cognate information: There are two related nouns, both meaning parched or roasted grain—קֵלִי, קֵלִיָּא. Each of these occurs five times in the Hebrew Bible. Several other Semitic languages exhibit a cognate verb meaning something like ‘burn’ or ‘roast’, including Akkadian (*qalû*), Mandaic (QLA), Syriac (*qalā*), and Ethiopic (*qalawa*).⁵¹ These exhibit similar tendencies to the Hebrew lexeme here.

Versions: In the LXX one finds a variety of lexemes used where the Hebrew has קֵלִי. In Leviticus 2:14, perhaps the most straightforward application of קֵלִי, the LXX has φρύγω, meaning something like ‘roast’ or ‘fry’. In the other clear Hebrew example, Joshua 5:11, the LXX strangely provides only νέος, ‘new’, for the corresponding קֵלִי. In Jeremiah 29:22, where people are burned by fire, the Greek is ἀποστηγανίζω (‘boil’, ‘cook’, ‘fry’), a clear cooking verb. In Deuteronomy 25:3, the lashing of the neighbour, the verb is ἀσχημονέω, to do with debasing someone. And finally, in Psalm 38:8, the flesh or loins full of burning is described as being full of ἐμπαιγμός, a noun related to scorn or derision. Evidently, the Septuagint translators of the psalm and of Deuteronomy read these two ambiguous occurrences of קֵלִי both as being from the other homonymous root having to do with being cursed or degraded.

The Targumim likewise read these two occurrences as being from another root than what is found in the clearer cases of Leviticus 2:14, Joshua 5:11, and Jeremiah 29:22. In these latter cases, the Aramaic root קִלִּי is used and appears to bear the same meaning as that of the Hebrew.

Formal characteristics: As discussed already, there is another homonymous root with a meaning like ‘to be light or cursed’. The situation is further complicated because there is a whole matrix of lexemes associated with the idea of cursing. There are nouns, such as קֵל or קֵלִין. There is the verb קֵלָה, which itself is a by-form of קָלַל. The reason this introduces confusion is because the present verb, קֵלָה, is a III-ה verb, which can easily drop its final consonant and become morphologically indistinguishable from many of the rest of these lexemes.

Concepts:

The occurrences of קֵלָה have one concept associated with them, when operating under the domain of [FOOD PREPARATION]: [APPLY DIRECT DRY HEAT]. At first glance, this would seem to be identical to the concept expressed by

51 Roth, *CAD*, 13: 69ff; Drower and Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary*, 413; J. Payne Smith, ed., *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary: Founded Upon the Thesaurus Syriacus of Robert Payne Smith* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), 11: 506; Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic)*, 431.

צלה. There is good reason for this—both lexemes tend to involve the use of an open fire to apply direct heat to the food item. Both lexemes also consider the beginning of the heating process rather than the end. The difference, then, likely lies with a difference in the selectional restrictions and/or the base of each. Determining such information for קלה can be best derived from Leviticus 2:14:

וְאִם־תִּקְרִיב מִנְחַת בִּבְרוֹרִים לַיהוָה אֲבִיב קִלְיֵי בָאֵשׁ גֶּרֶשׁ כֶּרְמֶל תִּקְרִיב אֶת מִנְחַת בִּבְרוֹרֶיךָ:

If you bring a grain offering of first fruits to the LORD, you shall bring as the grain offering of your first fruits coarse new grain from fresh ears, parched with fire.

In this text, the cooking concept is embedded in a larger syntactic framework, governed by the form תִּקְרִיב. However, the salient phrase is אֲבִיב קִלְיֵי בָאֵשׁ with the אֲבִיב elaborated by גֶּרֶשׁ כֶּרְמֶל. Conceptually, then, the אֲבִיב was the recipient of the קלה process, and is therefore the landmark of the concept. Unlike צלה the landmark is not a meat item. The context of Joshua 5:11 seems to suggest the same:

וַיֹּאכְלוּ מֵעֵבֹר הָאָרֶץ מִמַּחֲרַת הַפֶּסַח מִצֹּת וְקִלְיֵי בִעּוּצִים הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה:

On the day after the passover, on that very day, they ate the produce of the land, unleavened cakes and parched grain.

The difference here is that the item undergoing קלה is not mentioned. Instead, the participial form קִלְיֵי is acting substantively to describe that which is 'קלה-ed'. From the context of Passover, produce of the land, and cakes, it is likely that this use of קלה suggests a grain-type landmark.

To suggest that קלה is only concerned with grain-type landmarks would be to overlook some of the data. Jeremiah 29:22 sees people being thrown into the fire and thereby burned, as described by קלה, also in the *Qal*. If even bodies are being 'קלה-ed', then perhaps the landmark selectional restrictions are less strict than those of צלה. If this is true, then one could follow one of two possibilities: either קלה is more schematic, or general, than צלה, or קלה contains a different constellation of information in its base.

The modern rural Palestinians may provide a much-needed clue to solve this puzzle. As indicated in the archaeology chapter, these rural folk would gather the grain at different stages in its growth cycle. When it was young, they might eat it raw. When it progressed in age, later in the spring, it would be heated with a fire, either for immediate consumption or for grinding and mixing with

liquid to form a gruel-type meal. This heating process consisted either of putting the grains directly into a fire of thistles and twigs which burnt up quickly leaving the edible grains, or of passing the grain back and forth over a fire and then rubbing the grain to remove the husks.⁵² In either situation, the main idea seems to be to scorch the food item, perhaps just the outsides, to render it more easily edible. Could this be the process described in Leviticus 2:14? It does indeed mention grain, coarsely ground, as the rural Palestinians were wont to prepare. Their actions seem to fit this instance fairly cleanly, and, therefore, may illuminate the difference between קלה and צלה. The former appears to entail the scorching of the item, or of passing it through fire. Whether or not the item is cooked through is perhaps irrelevant, as illustrated by the scorching of people in Jeremiah 29:22. That is, the endpoint of its temporal process envisions minimally the fact that the item has been scorched. צלה, on the other hand, suggests that the landmark, meat, is heated to the point of being cooked, rather than simply being scorched.

This קלה concept profiles the beginning of a dynamic temporal process. This is indicated by the fact that the landmarks are uncooked entities.⁵³ These landmarks tend not to be further specified, leaving open whether the entity is meat or something else.

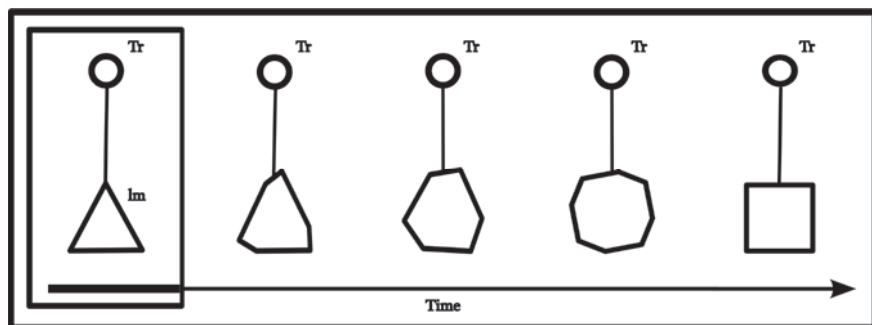


FIGURE 4.14 The temporal process of קלה-[APPLY DIRECT DRY HEAT].

The focus, and thereby the profile, is at the beginning of the temporal process. Throughout the event the landmark changes its state into something that has been scorched or passed through fire.

52 Avitsur, 'Way to Bread', 228–230.

53 This is even the case when 'parched/roasted grain' is used. Though the author's/narrator's perspective is of a completed event, the meaning of the phrase is 'grain having been roasted'. That is, there was grain (raw), it was roasted, and now is roasted grain.

Texts: Leviticus 2:14; Joshua 5:11; Jeremiah 29:22

Unclear: Psalm 38:8; Deuteronomy 25:3, both discussed above.

3.7 רתח

Occurrences: HB/OT $\times_3$ ($\times_2$ *Pi'el*/*Pu'al*; $\times_1$ *Hif'il*)

Root and cognate information: There is a related noun, רֶתַח, found in Ezekiel 24:5 in the form רֶתַחֶיהָ. It appears to be simply a cognate accusative ‘its boilings/boiled parts’. A suggested emendation would have us read the ר as a ג, rendering it as גֶּתַחֶיהָ, ‘its pieces (of meat)’. This would make for a smoother reading, but is not necessary so long as one could maintain the cognate accusative hypothesis.

The root רתח also occurs in several Semitic languages/dialects with meanings similar to those found in the Hebrew Bible: Palestinian and Babylonian Aramaic (‘seethe, be angry, heat up, be hot, boil’), Syriac (‘be boiling hot, blaze up, boil up, well up, flow abundantly, make boil up’) and possibly Mandaic (‘shake, tremble, heating, excitement’).⁵⁴ How these related to the concepts of רתח will be discussed below.

Versions: For each of the occurrences of the verb רתח we find one form or another of the Greek ζέω, usually ‘be fervent, hot’. The *Pu'al* of Job 30:27 is rendered by the active form of ἀναζέω (‘boil over, break out’), and the *Hif'il* of Job 41:23 translates as the active of ἀναζέω (‘boil up, bubble up’). The strangest translation is found, unsurprisingly, in Ezekiel 24:5.

מִבְּחֵר הַצֹּאֵן לְקֹזֶחַ וְגַם דֹּוֹר הָעֵצִים תַּחְתֶּיהָ רֶתַח רֶתַחֶיהָ גַם־בְּשָׁלוֹ עֲצָמֶיהָ בְּתוֹכָהּ:

Take the choicest one of the flock, pile the logs under it; boil its pieces [its boilings], seethe also its bones in it.

As mentioned under בשל, one of the problems in this verse revolves around the Hebrew command רֶתַח רֶתַחֶיהָ. Despite some manuscript evidence for reading רֶתַחֶיהָ instead as גֶּתַחֶיהָ, thereby ‘boil its pieces’, this is not necessary

54 Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*, 531: רתח; Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*, 1096: רתח; Michael Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon: A Translation from the Latin: Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum* (Winona Lake: Piscataway: Eisenbrauns; Gorgias Press, 2009), 1493: rth; Drower and Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary*, 437–438: RTA, rtia, RTT.

and may simply be a cognate accusative construction—‘boil its boilings’. The LXX translator chose to render it as ἑζεσεν ἑζεσεν in Greek—two active aorist forms, followed by ἡψηται, a passive perfect form. Perhaps the two aorist forms could be explained as translating a Hebrew infinitive absolute together with its corresponding finite verb form, but that does not explain why both of these Greek forms are in the indicative mood. It seems more than anything else to be a matter of confusion on the part of the translator, who, in any case, must have seen a ר, as we have it, and not a נ.

As for the Targumim, the two Job occurrences are translated by the cognate lexeme רתח, with little noticeable variation in meaning. The Ezekiel passage, however, is one of those where the Targum does something entirely different and the text does not resemble the Hebrew at all, and there is therefore no room for comparison of lexemes there.

Formal characteristics: Ending with a ח, רתח shows the preference for ‘a-class’ vowels, but otherwise presents no morphological difficulties, and so poses no problems for this study.

Concepts:

The verbal lexeme רתח represents two related concepts, which may be used in the domain of [FOOD PREPARATION].

3.7.1 [CAUSE TO BE TURBULENT]

This represents a stative temporal relation, where the state induced, turbulence, is constant throughout the time covered by the concept. A difference in landmark can provide a slightly different image. Turbulence in a liquid is often the result of heating, thereby boiling, whereas turbulence for other items, like one’s inner organs, may be caused by other means. These two can be illustrated by Job 41:23 and Job 30:27 respectively:

יִרְתִּיחַ בְּסִיר מְצוּלָה יָם יִשָּׂים בְּמִרְקָחָה:

It makes the deep boil like a pot; it makes the sea like a pot of ointment.

מִעֵי רִתְחוֹ וְלֹא־דָמוּ קִדְמָנִי יְמִי־עָנִי:

My inward parts are in turmoil,⁵⁵ and are never still; days of affliction come to meet me.

55 The *Pu'al* suggests that a more literal translation may be “are made turbulent.”

In the first, presuming that שים is a more schematic or generic verb, carrying over some of the content from רתח, there are then four things said to be made turbulent, each of which is liquid.⁵⁶ The presence of סיר, a cooking pot, suggests that the several images here are related to how one makes the contents of a cooking pot become turbulent, that is, to bring liquid to a boil by means of a heat source. Presumably, this is what one would do also with a pot of ointment.

In Job 30:27, however, heat seems to have little or nothing to do with the turbulence or turmoil of the speaker's inner organs. One may argue that Hebrew speakers conceived of pain in the organs as being related somehow to heat, as though one's intestines, for example, were burning. However, this need not be the case. In fact, there are several other instances where the lexeme מַעֵה is expressed as being in a state of turmoil, but no heat is mentioned anywhere in the vicinity.⁵⁷ Therefore, for the concept רתח-[CAUSE TO BE TURBULENT], heat is an optional element, dependent upon the nature of the landmark.⁵⁸

The landmark selectional restrictions, as demonstrated above, are not very discriminate. They include liquid items and inner organs.

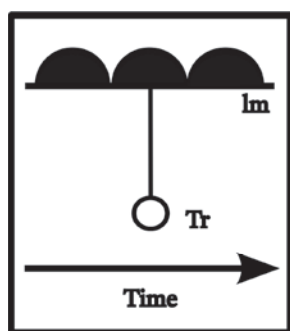


FIGURE 4.15

The temporal process indicated by רתח-[CAUSE TO BE TURBULENT].

As demonstrated by the diagram, there is no change to the landmark over time as profiled by the verb and therefore the temporal relation is stative.

56 This also presumes that the cooking pot and the ointment pot are both metonymically representing the liquid they each carry. This appears to be the case because the other two landmarks to which they are compared, the deep and the sea, are both liquid.

57 Song 5:4; Isa 16:11; 63:15; Jer 31:20 and possibly Ps 22:15.

58 In fact, heat causing turbulence is part of the encyclopaedic knowledge associated with liquid items. Therefore, when one speaks of causing a liquid to be turbulent, one might easily associate that with heat, but this is contributed by the encyclopaedic knowledge of liquids and not a verb denoting turbulence.

Texts: Job 30:27; 41:23

Unclear: Ezekiel 24:5

מִבְּחָר הַצֹּאן לָקוּחַ וְגַם דּוֹר הָעֲצָמִים תַּחְתִּיהָ רִתַּח רִתְחִיהָ גַם-בְּשָׁלוֹ עֲצָמֶיהָ בְּתוֹכָהּ:

Take the choicest one of the flock, pile the logs under it; boil its pieces [its boilings], seethe also its bones in it.

It seems likely, though not irrefutable, that רתח in this verse ought to be included in [CAUSE TO BE TURBULENT]. The primary indication of this is that liquid plays a role here; the meat is meant to be boiled (בשל), which assumes liquid. If there is liquid, then the more likely candidate for רתח is [CAUSE TO BE TURBULENT], because, as will be shown below, the concept [HEAT WITH HIGH HEAT] does not typically take a liquid item as its landmark.

If this conceptual allocation of רתח in Ezekiel 24:5 is true, then one can possibly shed light on the present textual difficulties. As mentioned several times already, the textual possibilities for Ezekiel 24:5 include either רתח רתחיה, ‘boil its boilings’ or רתח נתחיה, ‘boil its pieces’. The first of these has a liquid as the landmark and the second has the meat item as the landmark. The former would fit comfortably under a [MAKE TURBULENT] concept, but the latter fits neither here, nor under a simple [HEAT] concept.⁵⁹

3.7.2 [HEAT (something) WITH HIGH HEAT]

It would seem strange, at this point, to posit another cooking concept associated with רתח given that all three of its Hebrew Bible occurrences were covered in the concept above. But there is at least some evidence that this did not circumscribe all meaning associated with רתח in Biblical Hebrew. This evidence derives from cognate language information and from slightly later Hebrew information. For the former source, one finds רתח in several Aramaic dialects where it sometimes indeed denotes the boiling up or turbulence of some item, but at other times simply has the heating of an object in mind.⁶⁰

59 Block agrees that the lexeme here has to do with the turbulence of boiling liquid: ‘The verb *rattah*, which occurs elsewhere only in Job 41:23 (Eng. 31) and 30:27, speaks of the turbulence of cooking water.’ Daniel Isaac Block, *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 1–24*, The New International Commentary on the Old Testament (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 775.

60 Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, 11: 552; Drower and Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary*, 437–438; Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*, 531.

Turbulence need not be part of the conceptual profile. Within ancient Hebrew itself one may find such a case. In Ben Sira there is an occurrence that does not fit the turbulence pattern described above. In this case, the profile of the concept looks to be the act of heating itself, to an extreme degree.

Ben Sira 43:2–3:

שמש מופי[.] בצאתו נכסה / כלי נורא מעשי[.] ליון / בהצהירו י[...]. ח תבל / ולפני
חרב מי יתכולל⁶¹

The sun at its rising shines at its fullest, a wonderful instrument, the work of the Most High! At noon it scorches the surface of the earth, and who can bear its fiery heat?⁶²

Here we find the sun as the trajector and the earth's surface, תבל, as the landmark. The verb, according to the Masada fragment, requires reconstructing on the basis of the parallel Manuscript B, in which the reading ירתחו בהצהירו confirms that the verb is the *Hif'il* of רתח. In this case, the salient feature seems to be, simply, heating. There is no conceivable liquid involved, rendering a turbulence/upheaval image unlikely and a boiling image impossible. The LXX reading of verse 3 confirms this conclusion:

ἐν μεσηβρίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀναξηραίνει χώραν καὶ ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ τίς ὑποστέλλεται

At noon it parches the land, and who can withstand its burning heat?

While information from Ben Sira and from various stages and dialects of Aramaic does not prove that there was a second concept associated with רתח in Biblical Hebrew, it does strongly suggest the plausibility of such a speculation. The textual confusion found in Ezekiel 24:5 (described above) may

61 This manuscript reproduction can be found in Pancratius Cornelius Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew: A Text Edition of All Extant Hebrew Manuscripts and a Synopsis of All Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts*, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 68 (Leiden; New York: Brill, 1997), 177. The reproduction of manuscript B, מה נורא, שמש מביע בצרתו חמה, can also be found here.

62 Translation from Patrick W. Skehan and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: A New Translation with Notes*, The Anchor Bible 39 (New York: Doubleday, 1987), 485.

originate in the conflation of these two concepts, one of causing turbulence and the other of heating.

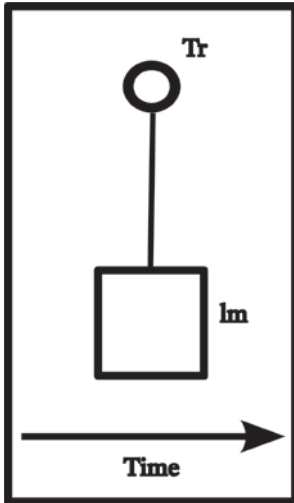


FIGURE 4.16

Temporal process demonstrated by חָטַח-[HEAT (something) WITH HIGH HEAT].

As a stative temporal relation, this concept does not change over time. The verb does not suggest that the landmark has changed from one thing into another, nor has anything new been created. The only thing that has happened, in truth, is that heat has been applied to it.

Conclusion

In closely examining the various Hebrew lexemes used in cooking scenarios, I have used primarily the information that can be derived from the language itself and how it is used. I have tried, where possible, to leave out excessive appeal to extra-linguistic information, though at times this was necessary. It remains to be demonstrated in a more comprehensive way how the language information from this chapter hangs together and how it can be integrated with the extra-linguistic information found in the lived backgrounds chapter.

A Transition

1 The Plot

At this point, we would do well to lift our heads briefly to regain a vision for the plot in which we have found ourselves. The purpose of this study is to ask what the various cooking verbs in Hebrew mean. According to patterns in biblical scholarship over the last century, this kind of research would require one to perform various structuralist or pre-structuralist tasks, such as analysing paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations or by relying heavily on etymology and cognitive information. Recent trends in theoretical linguistics, however, show that meaning resides in the mind and not in the language system itself nor in the world behind it. The mind, of course, employs the language system and interacts with the world around it, but the location of meaning nevertheless is in the mind. Meaning is cognitive. Therefore, this study has argued for a method that can account for such cognitive meaning and can do so by appealing not only to information from the language system, but also from language-external reality. Ronald Langacker's *Cognitive Grammar* provides just such a method, in which the relations between profiles, bases, and domains of concepts are the most relevant here. Profiles consist of what the concept actually specifies, while the base is the inherent and obligatory information invoked by the expression. The cognitive domain is the slightly more general selection of encyclopaedic knowledge about the world that gives context for a concept. In essence, it is merely the figure (profile) against a ground (base), both of which together happen to be figured against a larger ground (domain). One could also argue that the domain itself is figured against the yet larger ground of encyclopaedic knowledge.

This arrangement of figures and grounds closely represents the arrangement of the material in this monograph, in reverse order. The lived backgrounds chapter attempts to describe the general encyclopaedic knowledge related to cooking in ancient Palestine. The information for this chapter came primarily from archaeology and ethnographic studies. Having established this ground, the following chapter began to look at the lexemes. At the outset, I limited the discussion to the domain of [FOOD PREPARATION], thereby setting the ground for the next step. In this next step I scrutinized each cooking lexeme, breaking them into their constituent concepts based upon distributional data primarily from the Hebrew Bible. Once the concepts were divided, I examined

each of them on the basis of profiles and domains. The profiles were in turn described with regard to their temporal processes and their trajectory and landmark distributions. This was the final and most ‘figured’ level of analysis.

What remains to be done is to summarize what we now know about Hebrew cooking verbs, how that relates to the encyclopaedic knowledge described in the backgrounds chapter and to address some of the questions lingering about the edges, many of which were hinted at in the lexemes chapter. The summary and the relation to encyclopaedic knowledge shall be dealt with in this chapter. The lingering questions will be left for the next and final full chapter, as they are intertwined with the exegesis of certain texts.

2 Summarizing the Concepts

The concepts covered in the previous chapter are listed as follows:¹

אפה-[CREATE BY INDIRECT DRY HEATING]
 אפה-[MAKE X (INTO) Y BY INDIRECT DRY HEATING]
 בשל-[CREATE BY HEATING LIQUID]
 בשל-[CHANGE OF STATE]
 עשה-[CREATE]
 עשה-[MAKE X (INTO) Y]
 עשה-[PREPARE AN UNPREPARED ITEM]
 בעה-[(MAKE X) BULGE OUT]
 זיד-[CREATE STEW]
 לבב-[CREATE לִבְבוֹת]
 עוג-[CREATE עֲגָה]
 צלה-[APPLY DIRECT DRY HEAT]
 קלה-[APPLY DIRECT DRY HEAT]
 רתח-[CAUSE TO BE TURBULENT]
 רתח-[HEAT WITH HIGH HEAT]

The most helpful thing to do at this point, in order to avoid merely repeating the information from the lexemes chapter, is to describe the concepts by

¹ As noted earlier, these names do not exhaustively delineate the meaning of the concepts. They are merely descriptive enough to help the reader to identify which concept is being discussed.

placing them in meaningful groups and categories. This will enable a more macro-level perspective, in contrast to the micro-level employed so far.² Three sets of divisions will suffice to provide such a perspective. I will first divide the concepts according to schematicity, which will be explained below. Secondly, I will divide them according to their temporal processes. This grouping will overlap noticeably with the schematic grouping, but the analysis is different and therefore it warrants a separate categorization. Finally, I will group the concepts along the lines of their landmark selectional restrictions.

2.1 *Schematicity*

The quality or type of action related to a concept may be expressed by reference to schematicity or abstractness.³ For a concept to be schematic, it must not have a very detailed conceptual framework. It must be more abstract or schematic, which could take a great variety of instantiated forms. This parallels closely the use of taxonomies. At the top of a taxonomy are the more abstract entities and as one moves down the taxonomic structure the entities become more specific and less schematic.⁴ For instance, [HORSE] is more schematic than [STALLION] which represents a type of horse, but [HORSE] is less schematic than [MAMMAL], [ANIMAL], [CREATURE], or even [SUBSTANCE]. Therefore, while [MAMMAL] may contain [HORSE] in its schematic structure, both [MAMMAL] and [HORSE] are schematic for [STALLION] in their respective structures. A simple test for schematicity is one of entailment: if being X entails also being Y, then Y is schematic for X. If being a horse entails being a mammal, then [MAMMAL] is schematic for [HORSE].⁵

Such a taxonomic structure can be illustrated as follows:⁶

-
- 2 It is helpful also to note that the concepts have already been divided into groups. They were grouped, as per convention, by lexeme. This was more of a structuralist arrangement. The present chapter provides more of a cognitive arrangement.
 - 3 From here onward, for a concept to be deemed 'schematic' is the same as calling it abstract or generic.
 - 4 For an example of such taxonomies using the English language, see WordNet: <http://wordnetweb.princeton.edu/perl/webwn>.
 - 5 For a more detailed explanation of schematicity, see Taylor, *Cognitive Grammar*, 123–142.
 - 6 Blank spaces in the taxonomy indicate that there are other possibilities but that they are outside of the purview of the present discussion.

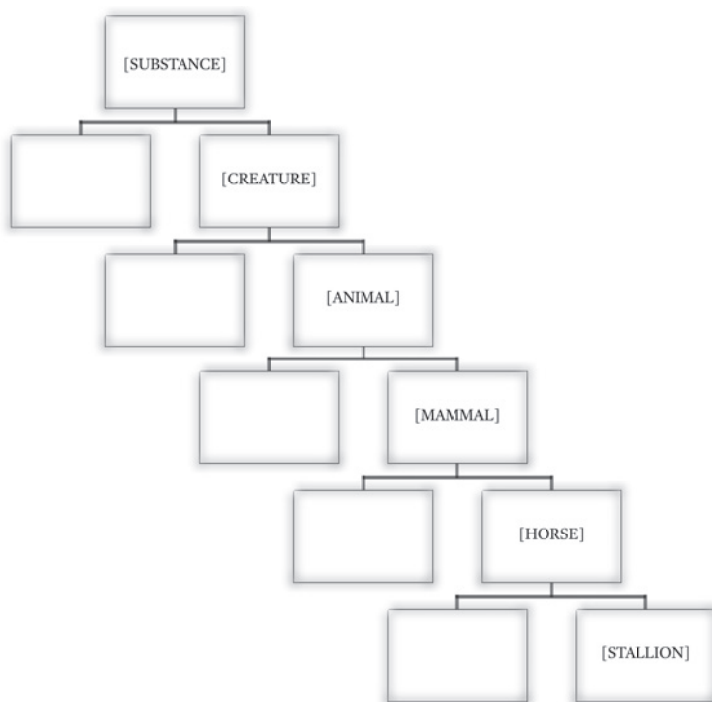


FIGURE 5.1 *A sample taxonomic structure.*

There is, however, something to be said for the more salient levels within the taxonomy. [HORSE] is, in most cases, more meaningful than [SUBSTANCE]. This most salient level in a schema structure is called the basic level, and is the level at which things are most commonly named.⁷ Concepts at this level are sufficiently broad to refer to a wide variety of instances as well as be specific enough that one could more easily picture it in the mind. In fact, it is the highest possible level at which things can be readily pictured.⁸ These are things like [HORSE], [COW], [TREE], [HOUSE], [WALK], etc. These are easy to imagine, whereas it would be much more difficult to find a representative picture for [MAMMAL], [FLORA], [STRUCTURE], or [MOVEMENT].

In the following quality/type of action groupings, I will arrange the concepts according to schematicity and basic levels where possible. I will also place עשה -[DO], a maximally schematic concept, at the top of the taxonomic tree, in order to give a broader perspective.

⁷ Taylor, *Cognitive Grammar*, 131.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 132.

Group 1.1—[CREATE]:

There are a few different types of action suggested by the different cooking verbs in Biblical Hebrew. One common type of action falls under the [CREATE] grouping:

אפה-[CREATE BY INDIRECT DRY HEATING]

בשל-[CREATE BY HEATING LIQUID]

עשה-[CREATE]

זיד-[CREATE STEW]

לבב-[CREATE לִבְבוֹת]

עוג-[CREATE עֲגָה]

Each of these concepts has a distinct organization of profile, base, and domain, but they nevertheless share the feature that they represent some form of creation. The means may be different, but the creation aspect is constant. What stands out, however, is the range of schematicity present in this group. The final three are each very specific concepts, relating to a very narrow description of an activity. עשה-[CREATE], on the other hand, is so schematic that one cannot picture what it means unless it is given more context. This leaves אפה-[CREATE] and בשל-[CREATE], both of which would qualify as basic level concepts. They represent the highest taxonomic level that one could still easily picture. What is unclear is whether or not these two are also schematic for the three specific concepts. If this is accurate, the [CREATE] taxonomic structure would be illustrated as follows:

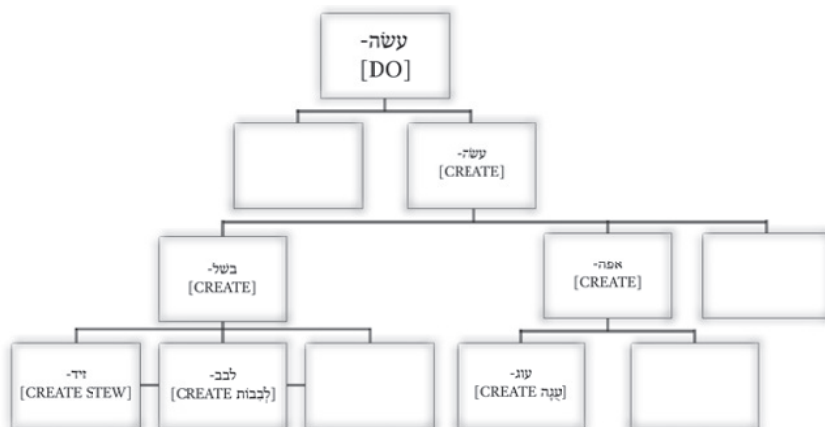


FIGURE 5.2 *Group one taxonomic structure.*

There are no native Biblical Hebrew speakers to ask whether or not one concept is entailed by another (whether one is schematic for another). However, one can look for hints in the distributional data. That עשה-[CREATE] is schematic for אפה-[CREATE BY INDIRECT DRY HEATING] is clearest. Both concepts regularly have bread items as their landmarks. In Leviticus 7:9 there is even an instance where the cooking activity is specified with אפה-[CREATE BY INDIRECT DRY HEATING], and then resumed with the more general עשה-[CREATE].

וְכָל־מִנְחָה אֲשֶׁר תֹּאפֶה בַּתֹּנֹר וְכָל־נֶעֱשֶׂה בַּמִּרְחֶשֶׁת וְעַל־מִחְבֶּת לִכְהֵן הַמִּקְרִיב אֹתָהּ
לֹא תִהְיֶה:

That אפה-[CREATE BY INDIRECT DRY HEATING] is, in turn, schematic for עוג-[CREATE עגה] is less clear, but nevertheless defensible. Their landmarks only overlap partially in Exodus 12:39, where the concept used is אפה-[CREATE BY INDIRECT DRY HEATING] and the landmark is עגת מצות. However, the schematic nature of the relationship between these two verbal concepts is strengthened by how rare and specialized עוג-[CREATE עגה] is, and how more regular and general אפה-[CREATE BY INDIRECT DRY HEATING] is. Finally, it is also clear that the concept עשה-[CREATE] can be even more schematic for עוג-[CREATE עגה], as seen in Genesis 18:6 where Abraham says to Sarah 'עשי עגות'.

That בשל-[CREATE] is schematic for לבב-[CREATE] may be illustrated by 2 Samuel 13:8.⁹

וַתֵּלֶךְ תָּמָר בִּית אֱמִנֹן אָחִיהָ וְהוּא שָׁכַב וַתִּקַּח אֶת־הַבָּצֵק וַתֵּלֶשׁ וַתַּלְבֵּב לְעֵינָיו וַתְּבַשֵּׁל
אֶת־הַלֶּבְבֹת:

In this case, it appears as though בשל may be acting schematically for לבב, where Tamar is said to לבב the dough and (thereby) make (בשל) the לבבות. בשל-[CREATE] is also schematic for זיד-[CREATE STEW], as displayed in 2 Kings 4:38 where Elisha tells his servant to בשל זיד.

Group 1.2—[CHANGE STATE]:

The second largest grouping of concepts had to do with applying heat to an object. This included the following:

9 This conclusion is still tentative as the exegesis of 2 Samuel 13 is being held until the exegetical contributions chapter.

-צלח-[APPLY DIRECT DRY HEAT]
 -קלח-[APPLY DIRECT DRY HEAT]
 -רתח-[HEAT WITH HIGH HEAT]¹⁰
 -בשל-[CHANGE OF STATE]
 -עשה-[PREPARE AN UNPREPARED ITEM]

As expected, an עשה concept inhabits a higher schematic level than the others, even more than בשל, which is itself more schematic than the rest of the lexemes. As discussed in the previous chapter, צלח and קלח, while covering similar ground, are not quite the same. Neither, however, would seem to be able to stand in for the other in the way that a schematic verb might do for one of the verbs lower down in its taxonomy. רתח, for its part, is altogether unclear, with only one occurrence from Ben Sira. It could, theoretically be schematic for the other two, but this would be unlikely. One would expect that a verb more schematic than צלח and קלח would have more numerous occurrences than they do, as seen in group one—[CREATE]. Therefore, a tentative schematic structure for group two would be:

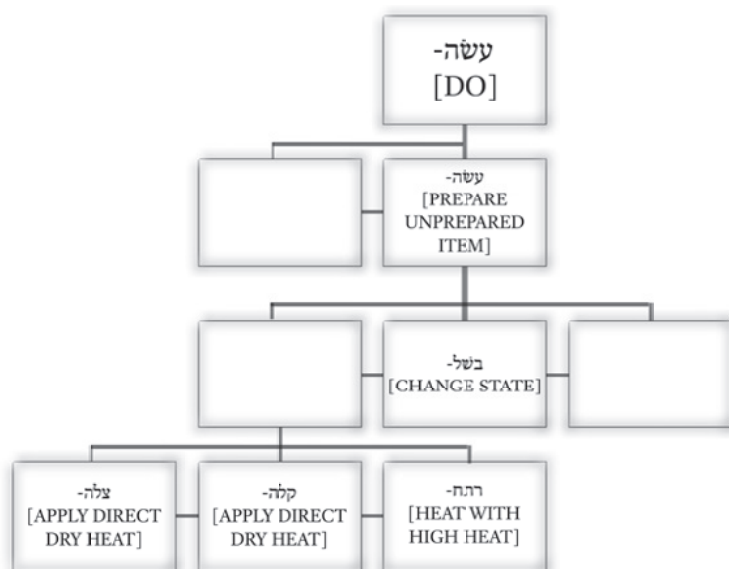


FIGURE 5.3 Group two taxonomic structure.

10 The inclusion of this concept is debatable, given that this concept does not straightforwardly appear in the Hebrew Bible, but only in Ben Sira, and it is not used there as a

The three lowest concepts do not appear to share landmark selectional restrictions, though the first two at least do share the direct dry heat feature, whereas *רתח* does not. None of these three share landmarks with *בשל*-[CHANGE OF STATE] and therefore are not directly connected to it in the structure.

Group 1.3—[MAKE X (INTO) Y]:

This group includes the following concepts:

אפה-[MAKE X (INTO) Y BY INDIRECT DRY HEATING]

עשה-[MAKE X (INTO) Y]

As with the earlier [CREATE] grouping, so also this one has *עשה* acting schematically for *אפה*. This is made clear by two things. First, the overlapping of landmark selectional restrictions of the two concepts shows that they are in some schematic relationship with one another. This is illustrated by comparing Judges 6:19, where *עשה* is used to describe making flour into *מצות*, with 1 Samuel 28:24, where the same two landmarks are used, but with *אפה*. What shows that *עשה*-[MAKE X (INTO) Y] is more schematic than *אפה*-[MAKE X (INTO) Y BY INDIRECT DRY HEATING] is the fact that *עשה*-[MAKE X (INTO) Y] is used also with non-food related landmarks. Exodus 30:25 illustrates this:

וַעֲשִׂיתָ אֹתוֹ שֶׁמֶן מִשְׁחַת־קֹדֶשׁ רֶקֶחַ מִרְקָחַת מִעֲשֶׂה רֶקֶחַ שֶׁמֶן מִשְׁחַת־קֹדֶשׁ יִהְיֶה:

... and you shall make of these a sacred anointing oil blended as by the perfumer; it shall be a holy anointing oil.

Therefore, the taxonomic tree is as follows:

cooking verb, but rather as an image of the sun heating the earth. It is included here for the same reason that it is included in the concepts in the previous chapter—the other concept associated with *רתח* is clearly used in cooking contexts and so one can posit that this concept too may be used in such situations.

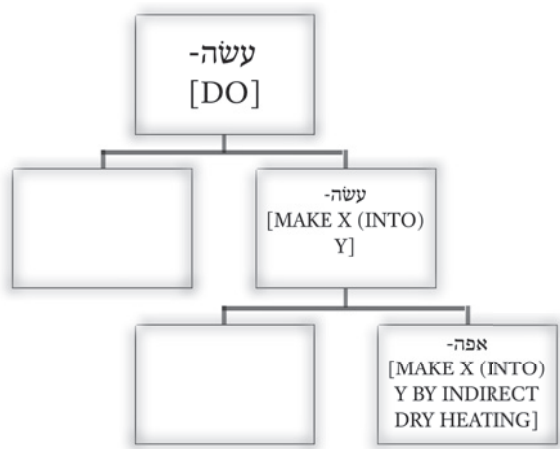


FIGURE 5.4 Group three taxonomic structure.

Group 1.4—[CAUSE A STATE]:

This final group consists of the following two concepts:

רתח-[CAUSE TO BE TURBULENT]
בעה-[(MAKE X) BULGE OUT]

Interestingly, both of these concepts, when related to food preparation, are concerned with the state of the cooking liquid, but neither concept is restricted to such food preparation settings or to liquid at all. בעה at one point refers to a city wall bulging, whereas רתח suggests that turbulence may be imposed on the depths of the sea or on one's inner organs. The taxonomy is here rather straightforward:

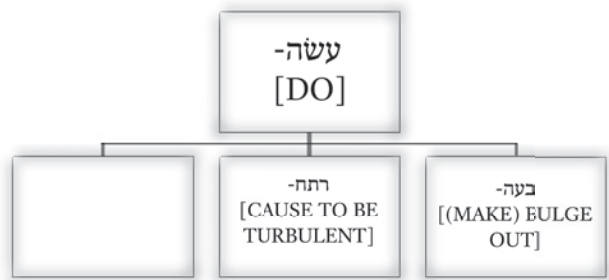


FIGURE 5.5 Group four taxonomic structure.

Summary of Schematic Groupings

From the foregoing taxonomies a few general remarks can be made on a lexical level. First, Hebrew speakers tended to use עשה for the most schematic concepts, cooking or otherwise. Because these concepts are so schematic, it is difficult to picture them without picturing a more specific activity that might be represented by another lexeme. This suggests that the עשה concepts are above the basic level. Secondly, the concepts that most likely do occupy a basic level are usually associated with אפה and בשל, the two most common cooking lexemes after עשה. These are simple and basic lexemes and can refer to a variety of different actual activities, but are nevertheless descriptive enough to be pictured. The remaining concepts are those below the basic level and are associated with less commonly occurring lexemes. They are more specialized in their description of the events.

2.2 Temporal Process

The concepts can also easily be divided into their constituent groups on the basis of their temporal processes. A quick look at the temporal diagrams from the previous chapter will show that some concepts profile a dynamic relational process and others a stative temporal process. The dynamic group can be further divided into those which focus on the beginning of the event, those on the final point, and those that focus on both.

Group 2.1—Dynamic Relations Profiling the End:

Unsurprisingly, the group that profiles the end of a temporal process almost entirely coincides with the [CREATE] grouping above. The concepts included are:

אפה-[CREATE BY INDIRECT DRY HEATING]
 בשל-[CREATE BY HEATING LIQUID]
 עשה-[CREATE]
 זיד-[CREATE STEW]
 לבב-[CREATE לִבְבוֹת]
 עגה-[CREATE עָגָה]

There is an additional possible inclusion to this group if one can separate the *Qal* from the *Nif'al* use of בעה in terms of temporal process. If so, then בעה-[MAKE X BULGE OUT] would likewise be included here. This should be the case because, of the two occurrences of בעה, the *Qal* (transitive) occurrence is

the one related to the heating of water, whereas the *Nif'al* refers to the bulging of a city wall.

One can say that, altogether, these concepts profile the end of a temporal process. Whatever happened at the beginning of the process, whether that was kneading dough, gathering ingredients, heating an oven, etc., is outside of the actual conceptual profile. Those features would be included in each concept's base and cognitive domain information.

Group 2.2—Dynamic Relations Profiling the Beginning:

There are four concepts that profile the beginning of a temporal process:

בשל-[CHANGE OF STATE]
 עשה-[PREPARE AN UNPREPARED ITEM]
 צלה-[APPLY DIRECT DRY HEAT]
 קלה-[APPLY DIRECT DRY HEAT]

As such, they focus on the uncooked or unprepared food item. An item is taken, whether meat, grain, or ingredients for a stew, and undergoes the process of preparation for human consumption. The end of the process is understood, and is therefore part of the concept's base, but the beginning of the process is what is in focus, and is therefore profiled.

Group 2.3—Dynamic Relations Profiling Both Beginning and End:

This final group consists of the following two concepts:

אפה-[MAKE X (INTO) Y BY INDIRECT DRY HEATING]
 עשה-[MAKE X (INTO) Y]

As expected, these two concepts focus both at the beginning and the end of a temporal process. This is the Hebrew equivalent of a ditransitive construction, where the verb takes two direct objects.¹¹ This means that the verb suggests the transformation from one thing (X) into another (Y).

¹¹ Though only one of the two is marked by את

Group 2.4—Stative Temporal Relations:

This group consists only of the following three concepts:

רתח-[CAUSE TO BE TURBULENT]

בעה-[BULGE OUT]

רתח-[HEAT WITH HIGH HEAT]

None of these concepts profile a specific beginning or an end to a process. As verbal concepts however, they still profile something that holds over time, and are thus displayed as temporal relations.

2.3 *Landmark Selectional Restrictions*

The third and final way I group the concepts is according to their landmark selectional restrictions. This categorization is particularly illuminating as it will illustrate which kinds of activities can be applied to bread items, or to meat items, and so on.¹² In each of the groups I include any concept that could plausibly contain the relevant landmarks in its profile, whether or not it actually does so in its biblical occurrences. I will, however, divide those that do actually contain those landmarks and those that simply might do so into two subgroups: certain and uncertain.

Group 3.1—Meat Landmarks:

The concepts that certainly may take meat as a landmark are:

בשל-[CHANGE OF STATE]

עשה-[MAKE X (INTO) Y]

עשה-[PREPARE AN UNPREPARED ITEM]

צלח-[APPLY DIRECT DRY HEAT]

Those that may plausibly take meat as a landmark are:

- a. עשה-[CREATE]. As per usual, עשה is schematic and underspecified, and both of this lexeme's other concepts may be applied to meat, so it

¹² Simply based upon observation, there seem to be two major groupings of landmarks, meat and non-meat.

is therefore plausible that this one *could* also be applied to meat even though it never actually does so in the Hebrew Bible.¹³

- b. קלה-[APPLY DIRECT DRY HEAT]. In clear cooking contexts this lexeme is only applied to grain products and suggests parching or roasting. But, as explained in the previous chapter, there are some occurrences where the landmark may possibly be construed as meat. This is demonstrated best by Jeremiah 29:22, where a human being is said to be thrown into the fire and therefore scorched or roasted.
- c. בשל-[CREATE BY HEATING LIQUID]. The landmark assumed here is actually a stew, which may exclude it from this grouping. However, stew occasionally centred on meat, when available, so it is conceivable that the landmark could be stewed meat. Nevertheless, it is a stretch and can only be a marginal inclusion here.
- d. זיד-[CREATE STEW]. The same logic applies here as for the above concept.

Group 3.2—Non-Meat Landmarks:

The concepts that certainly may take non-meat objects as landmarks are:

אפה-[CREATE BY INDIRECT DRY HEATING]
 אפה-[MAKE X (INTO) Y BY INDIRECT DRY HEATING]
 בשל-[CHANGE OF STATE]
 עשה-[CREATE]
 עשה-[MAKE X (INTO) Y]
 עשה-[PREPARE AN UNPREPARED ITEM]
 לבב-[CREATE לִבְבוֹת]
 עוג-[CREATE עֲגָה]
 קלה-[APPLY DIRECT DRY HEAT]

Those that are less clear are:

- a. בשל-[CREATE BY HEATING LIQUID]. As mentioned above, the landmark for this concept is expected to be a stew. If the stew itself is the landmark, as it appears to be in the Hebrew Bible, then this concept should be grouped with the non-meat landmarked concepts.
- b. זיד-[CREATE STEW]. The same logic applies here.
- c. בעה-[(MAKE X) BULGE OUT]. The landmark here may not necessarily be a food item. Instead, in its one possible food-related occurrence, the

13 An example where עשה is underspecified is found in Exodus 12:16.

water is the landmark. The water may be heated for cooking purposes (boiling a meat item), but the landmark is nevertheless the water in the extant occurrence.

- d. רתח-[CAUSE TO BE TURBULENT]. As above, when the concept applies to food preparation, it appears that the landmark is the cooking liquid. This assumes the MT reading in Ezekiel 24:5 to be accurate ('boil its boilings') as argued in the previous chapter. If the textual emendation (rendering 'boil its parts') were accepted, then this concept would be included in the meat landmarked concepts.
- e. רתח-[HEAT WITH HIGH HEAT]. In the previous chapter I have already discussed the fact that it is debatable to include this concept in this study at all. I have included it because this lexeme's other concept does apply to food preparation and therefore this one could possibly do so as well. If it were included then its landmark, the earth's surface, does not indicate that it has a meat item as a landmark.¹⁴

Group 3.3—Unrestricted Landmarks:

Though they have been included in the groups above, it is nonetheless worthwhile to mention separately those concepts which, due to their high schematicity, may apply to nearly any sort of food item (or non-food item):

עשה-[CREATE]

עשה-[MAKE X (INTO) Y]

עשה-[PREPARE AN UNPREPARED ITEM]

3 Back to Backgrounds

One further grouping of lexemes beneficial to the present purpose would be according to the type of activity performed. Because this will entail a description of the ancient reality of the Hebrew language community, I will therefore draw attention to the insights from the backgrounds chapter. Although references to the lived reality of ancient Palestine have been peppered into the discussion of the lexemes in the previous chapter, a summary of the connection between backgrounds and concepts is nevertheless important. In doing so, I

14 If this lexeme's other concept, [CAUSE TO BE TURBULENT], could be argued to apply to meat, as with the textual emendation, then one could plausibly argue that the present concept, [HEAT WITH HIGH HEAT] may do so as well.

will discuss the various types of cooking with their corresponding concepts, drawing out insights where possible. It must be noted, however, that we are dealing with encyclopaedic knowledge, which, by its very nature, cannot be easily summarized, and cannot be easily fitted into discrete applications to linguistic concepts. Therefore, what is provided here is by no means an exhaustive list of cooking connections between world and language, but merely a taste.

Dry Cooking

The concepts associated clearly and specifically with dry cooking are as follows:

אפה-[CREATE BY INDIRECT DRY HEATING]
 אפה-[MAKE X (INTO) Y BY INDIRECT DRY HEATING]
 עוג-[CREATE עָגָה]
 צלה-[APPLY DIRECT DRY HEAT]
 קלה-[APPLY DIRECT DRY HEAT]
 Possible: לבב-[CREATE לִבְבוֹת]

The discussion above showed that the lexeme אפה tended to represent basic level concepts of baking. As such, it is more schematic than the other dry cooking concepts. This is not to say that it is schematic *for* all of these other concepts, but merely that it is more schematic or generic. This means that אפה can refer to a slightly wider range of activities. Its landmarks include leavened bread, unleavened bread, manna and cakes. It therefore can refer to any type of bread-baking—whether in an oven, on a baking pan, or straight on top of the coals of a fire. The evidence suggests that, as long as there is bread creation and dry heating, then אפה may be used. If an oven is indeed involved, then the activity is more likely restricted to the kinds of places ovens may be found (in centre rooms or courtyards of the home, or sometimes in public places where ovens are shared). If there is no oven, then one can assume that an open fire is used, and is therefore a much more portable activity, though the bread item created would more likely be unleavened, due to the difficulty of creating leavened bread on the coals of a fire. In either case, in an oven or not, the preparation of the dough required considerable work, with hours of grinding grain (usually performed by women) taking the bulk of the time. The quality of the bread was also determined by the quality of the grains produced, with barley meant for poorer people and wheat for those who had the means. All or any of these things could be brought to bear on any instance of אפה in the biblical text.

עוג, being less schematic and more specific, cannot cover as wide a range as אפה. While the same preparatory labour was required, the actual cooking

process was different. עוג denotes the creation of עוגות, cakes. They were often cooked directly on hot coals or on a pan on the coals and evidently were meant to be flipped during the process, as seen in Hosea 7:8 where Ephraim is called an עֵגָה not turned. In the previous chapter, I also noted that the Septuagint translates עוג with ἐγκρῦπτω, which may signify that the translator's world consisted of placing the bread inside of the fuel, perhaps like in a *tabun* oven covered by fuel. There is no other evidence to suggest that this translation could be imposed on the meaning of עוג in Biblical Hebrew, but it must remain a possibility in the event that further discoveries strengthen the case.

The concepts associated with the lexemes צלה and קלה, are not instantiations of the broader אפה. These both seem to necessitate an open flame, and so would preclude the presence of cooking in an oven. This would mean that the activities associated with both of these concepts are fairly portable. Their location is merely limited by wherever one could feasibly have a fire. צלה is even further removed from אפה by the fact that it refers to people cooking meat items, and not bread. Roasted meat, however, was not a common dish for common people. It would have been seen as marking a special occasion. We read in 1 Kings 5 of the magnificence of King Solomon's table, where he had what seemed to be tonnes of meat from various animals on a daily basis. This was a mark of power and prestige. The average person did not have such easy access to meat. When one slaughtered an animal, it would have been an occasion to celebrate and to share.¹⁵ קלה, on the other hand, typically refers to the act of parching something. Again, the portability of fire makes this an activity that could be performed almost anywhere. The קלי in Ruth 2:14, where harvesters are eating it out in the field, could easily have been prepared on the spot.¹⁶ It was a simple and easy snack for those at or away from home.

The final concept listed here is connected to לבב, which occurs only in the 2 Samuel 13 passage and will be discussed in the next chapter. Its inclusion here is debatable at best.

Liquid Cooking

Cooking with liquid differs greatly from dry cooking, and is typically represented by the following concepts:

בשל-[CREATE BY HEATING LIQUID]
בשל-[CHANGE OF STATE]

¹⁵ Ebeling, *Women's Lives*, 36.

¹⁶ Avitsur, 'Way to Bread', 101.

זיד-[CREATE STEW]

Possible: לבב-[CREATE BUBBLE]

בעה-[(MAKE X) BULGE OUT]

רתח-[CAUSE TO BE TURBULENT]

I have formed two groups here because the first one actually has food items as the landmarks and clearly requires the heating of liquid. Those in the second group focus on the state of a liquid and may or may not have food preparation in mind.

Like *אפה* in the dry cooking category, so *בשל* here is the basic level concept and is therefore more schematic than the other concepts in the first group. It could refer to the boiling of liquid, to the creation of stew, or to the cooking of a food item, likely meat, in hot liquid. What is required in each of these cases is some kind of a vessel or cooking pot. As described in the backgrounds chapter, cooking pots came in a variety of forms, whose cooking properties relate directly to the size of their body, the size of the mouth, and the shape of the bottom. Those that had a wider mouth enabled larger pieces of meat to be placed inside, as well as a greater ability to stir the pot's contents, a feature which could be put to good use for a stew. The narrower-mouthed pots necessitated food items that were more or less in liquid state and easily poured—probably something like porridge or gruel. The shape of the pot's base dictated, to a degree, what the heat source might be. A more pointed base would mean that the pot would need to be suspended over a heat source in some way or placed on its side in or beside the coals or other heat source. The flatter base would enable the user to place the pot upright on the coals, or on the top opening of an oven. It could likewise be suspended over a fire. As suggested, the type of food created by heating liquid could include anything from larger pieces of meat to gruel. Stew, a popular meal, could include meat or it could simply be made from vegetables. It was a dish that one could fairly easily make with whatever was at hand. All or any of these images could easily fill in the background of the instance of the lexeme *בשל*.

The lexeme *זיד*, however, is much more restricted. Its concept is an instantiation of the more schematic concepts of *בשל*. *זיד* may only refer to the creation of the stew mentioned above. This means that it was more likely created by using the wide body and mouth pots, unless the stew were made simply of small pieces of vegetables and/or grains and did not need much stirring.

The two final concepts mentioned here are related to *בעה* and *רתח*. Neither of these concepts appears to apply to food items specifically, but rather to the

heating of liquid for whatever purpose. As with the other liquid concepts, one must imagine that there is some kind of a vessel involved, whether a cooking pot or something else, and that there is a heat source under that vessel. This, again, could mean that the vessel is suspended over a heat source, placed directly on coals, or put on top of an oven's opening. With *רתח*, it seems that the heating of the liquid could be for the purpose of cooking a food item, as with the lamb in Ezekiel 24:5. This need not be the case though, and both *בעה* and *רתח* should not be seen as directly connected to the creation of a food item.

I have again included the concept associated with *לבב* here because of its confusing application in 2 Samuel 13:8. Does the author intend to convey that *בשל* is summarizing and therefore schematic for *לבב*? If so, does that mean that *לבב* represents a liquid cooking concept, even though the food item is a bread product? It continues to resist clean categories.

4 Lingering Questions

Even after the foregoing discussion and all the work in the previous chapters, there remain some unanswered questions. Most of these are bound up with the exegesis of the texts in which they are found. What meaning is attached to *בשל* and *לבב* in 2 Samuel 13? Are the food items boiled, fried, or are they cooked by some other means? There are also those texts whose exegetical meaning depends on clarifying the words used in them. In 2 Chronicles 35:13, are the people described as boiling the Passover lamb or roasting it? Are the people of Judah breaking the rule to not boil the Passover as prescribed in Exodus 12:9, or is something else at work? These kinds of questions have not found answers in the more discrete approach used so far, and so a separate chapter is needed, where exegesis and lexical/conceptual analysis is performed together.

Exegetical Contributions

The previous chapters have ranged far and wide, in linguistic theory, archaeology, and ethnography, and in minute analysis of Hebrew lexemes. The present chapter is meant to gather up all these eclectic contributions and put them to use in exegeting particular biblical texts. This does not mean that this chapter is intended to plumb the depths of scholarship or produce exhaustive exegetical insights for any given passage. This is not meant to be comprehensive in nature. Instead, this chapter focuses more on what the foregoing chapters can *contribute* to the understanding of certain biblical passages involving food preparation. Because it is merely a contribution, this chapter will focus almost exclusively on synchronic readings of these texts. As has been argued earlier, the language of Biblical Hebrew is relatively stable, particularly in the language of cooking and daily life. For that reason, there is not a great deal that this study would offer to diachronic studies. Such studies are, of course, valuable, but there is not a great deal that the present study would contribute to that exegetical angle. Secondary literature, consequently, will be cited insofar as it represents exegetical trends or ideas relevant to the present discussion.

What follows, then, will be divided into discrete units, each dealing with one passage or one group of linked passages. On a macro level, there will be a general trend from illustration to problem solving. That is, the first texts will not be terribly difficult to understand in a general way even without the help of food-concept analysis. Rather, the analysis from the foregoing chapters will illustrate and add exegetical colour to the picture. As we move toward the later texts, there will be an increasing sense that understanding food is central to understanding the text. Without such knowledge, it is difficult to find a straightforward reading either of the text's meaning or of the cooking lexemes found there. The meaning associated with the text and with its vocabulary is inextricably linked. We are unable to make sense of one without the other. Therefore, the texts here should be seen more on a continuum, from arguably straightforward to arguably opaque. The list of texts is as follows:

Genesis 18:2–8

Judges 6:17–24

2 Kings 4:38–44

Hosea 7:4–9

Exodus 12:8–9; Deuteronomy 16:7; 2 Chronicles 35:13

2 Samuel 13:1–14

1 Text One—Fast Food and Divine Visitors in Genesis 18

In Genesis 12 Abram and Sarai were chosen to be the instrument of YHWH's will in the world. They were to have offspring, to possess land, and to bless the whole world. Such a calling seems to be a direct response to the failure of humankind in chapters 1–11 to live according to this divine will. Now, the responsibility was on one fledgling family. As the years wore on, however, Abram and Sarai grew skeptical that they were to have all the descendants they had been promised. In hopes of moving the plan along Sarai gave Abram her Egyptian maidservant Hagar, who in turn bore him a son, Ishmael. This, though, was not exactly the plan that YHWH had in mind, nor did it turn out very well for Hagar and her son in the end (ch.21). Instead, as described in chapter 17, YHWH reaffirmed that Abram (now Abraham) was to have a son by his wife Sarai (now Sarah). It is then at the opening of Genesis 18 that the reader, along with Abraham and Sarah, is waiting to see whether such promises will be fulfilled. One finds yet again that YHWH appears to Abraham, this time in the form of three wayfarers, and affirms once more that he will have a son by Sarah. What often receives little notice here, and what helps to set the scene, is the role that cooking plays in this narrative.

In Genesis 18, then, Abraham and Sarah are dwelling near to the Oaks of Mamre and they are surprised by three visitors, who turn out to be more than they appear.¹

² וַיֵּשָׂא עֵינָיו וַיֵּרָא וְהִנֵּה שְׁלֹשָׁה אַנְשִׁים נֹצְבִים עָלָיו וַיֵּרָא וַיֵּרָץ לִקְרָאתָם מִפֶּתַח הָאֵהָל וַיִּשְׁתָּחוּ אַרְצָה: ³ וַיֹּאמֶר אֲדֹנָי אִם־נָא מְצָאתִי חַן בְּעֵינֶיךָ אֵל־נָא תַעֲבֹר מֵעַל עַבְדְּךָ: ⁴ וַיִּקַּח־נָא מֵעֹטְמִים וַרְחֵצוּ רַגְלֵיכֶם וְהִשְׁעֵנוּ תַּחַת הָעֵץ: ⁵ וַאֲקַחְהָ פַת־לֶחֶם וְסַעֲדוּ לַבָּכֶם אַחֵר תַּעֲבְרוּ כִי־עַל־כֵּן עֲבַרְתֶּם עַל־עַבְדְּכֶם וַיֹּאמְרוּ בֵּן תַעֲשֶׂה בָאִשֶּׁר דִּבַּרְתָּ: ⁶ וַיִּמְהַר אַבְרָהָם הָאֵהָלָה אֶל־שָׂרָה וַיֹּאמֶר מִהֲרִי שְׁלֵשׁ סָאִים קָמַח סֵלֶת לֹוִשִׁי וְעָשִׂי עֲגֹזֹת: ⁷ וְאֶל־הַבָּקָר רֵץ אַבְרָהָם וַיִּקַּח בֶּן־בָּקָר רֵד וְטוֹב וַיִּתֵּן אֶל־הַנָּעַר וַיִּמְהַר לַעֲשׂוֹת אֹתוֹ: ⁸ וַיִּקַּח חֲמָאָה וְחֵלֶב וּבֹן־הַבָּקָר אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה וַיִּתֵּן לַפְּנִיָּהִם וְהוּא־עֹמֵד עֲלֵיהֶם תַּחַת הָעֵץ וַיֹּאכְלוּ:

² He looked up and saw three men standing near him. When he saw them, he ran from the tent entrance to meet them, and bowed down to the ground. ³ He said, 'My lord, if I find favor with you, do not pass by your servant. ⁴ Let a little water be brought, and wash your feet, and rest yourselves under the tree. ⁵ Let me bring a little bread, that you may refresh yourselves, and after that you may pass on—since you have come to your

1 We leave aside here the textual difficulty of Abraham's grammatically singular address to his visitor(s) in verse 3.

servant'. So they said, 'Do as you have said'.⁶ And Abraham hastened into the tent to Sarah, and said, 'Make ready quickly three measures of choice flour, knead it, and make cakes'.⁷ Abraham ran to the herd, and took a calf, tender and good, and gave it to the servant, who hastened to prepare it.⁸ Then he took curds and milk and the calf that he had prepared, and set it before them; and he stood by them under the tree while they ate.

Abraham, playing the good host, recognizes that he must care for these travellers. He offers them water for their feet, rest in the shade during the heat of the day, and a mere morsel of bread. We discover, as the ancient audience would have expected, that Abraham had no intention of providing just a meagre repast. Rather, in accordance with expectations of hospitality, Abraham underestimates his own offering, and then races off to prepare a meal fit for the divine.

Breathlessly, the reader looks on as Abraham tells Sarah to hurry and prepare three seahs of fine flour and make cakes. He then runs and picks out a calf, and gives it to a servant to prepare. Finally, he grabs some suitable dairy products along with the rest of the prepared food and sets it out before his guests—all at an absurd pace.

We know from the backgrounds chapter that there is no way that this preparation is as quick as the narration makes it seem. We do not know exactly how long it took, but we can at least deduce some of the details. First, we must determine what it is that Abraham and Sarah are preparing. Thereafter we can estimate the length of time needed to prepare it.

The first thing Abraham does is he gets Sarah preparing the bread.² He asks her to use three seahs of fine flour, קֶמַח סֵלֶת, in all likelihood deriving from wheat, which we have seen was considered the better alternative to barley. Living near the Oaks of Mamre, Abraham and Sarah would have been in the southern hill country of what would become Judah, near to Hebron. This hill country, with its deep gorges, steep hills, and dependable rainfall was generally well suited to fruit trees and terracing, rather than to the production of grains like wheat and barley, though this could be done in small areas. Near Hebron, in particular, there was less rainfall and therefore we can assume that Abraham and Sarah did not have vast fields of grain in their vicinity, and so they most likely dealt with traders coming from the more fertile areas closer to the coast.³

2 Gunkel aptly notes, 'männlicher Egoismus hat der Frau die unangenehme Arbeit des Mahlens zugeschoben'. Hermann Gunkel, *Genesis*, 9th ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1977), 195.

3 Denis Baly, *Basic Biblical Geography* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 49–53.

If Sarah herself were the one who normally took this grain and did the grinding, then we can only assume that the grain was already ground into this fine flour at this point, because, as we determined earlier, grinding grain for daily consumption would have taken at least a few hours if done by one person alone. This would certainly have been amplified beyond the norm because Abraham requests three seahs of this flour. The exact value of a seah is unclear, but estimates place it around five to eight litres.⁴ In any case, it would be a large portion. Compare Abigail's provisions for David and his men in 1 Samuel 25:18 (more than 10 men at least), which consisted of massive quantities of all kinds of food, including five seahs of parched grain. If five seahs was a sufficient amount for a band of soldiers, then three seahs for three visitors must have been incredibly overabundant! Sarah simply could not have ground this much flour at the sudden appearance of wayfarers. However, if Abraham and Sarah had a team of servants to hand, as their wealth may have allowed, then perhaps this could have been done on command, in addition to the amount already prepared for the day's needs. In either case, we should not imagine Sarah madly grinding grain for hours, only to spend even more time making and baking the bread.

What we can picture more surely, however, is Sarah performing the kneading and baking stages. She is told to knead the flour, undoubtedly mixed with water, and make it into עֲגֹת. The water likely came either from their cistern, well, or from a local spring, all of which were regular features of the central hill country.⁵ Once the flour was mixed with water and with any other ingredients the kneading was performed, which may have been done in a kneading trough or simply on any such suitable surface.⁶ If she were making leavened bread, Sarah would have added a bit of leftover dough, and let it rise for an hour or so. It need not have been much longer if the leftover dough was actively fermenting and if it was, as verse one says, at the heat of the day. If she were making unleavened bread, then she could have begun baking it shortly after the kneading was finished. On the balance of evidence, we concluded that עֲגֹת were probably unleavened bread products, given that they are usually mentioned in texts involving either haste or minimal provisions. It was also determined that these עֲגֹת were probably baked, not in a proper *tannur* oven, but either

4 King and Stager, *Life*, 200.

5 For more on women gathering water, see Wolfgang Zwickel, *Frauenalltag im biblischen Israel* (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2005), 69–70.

6 Wolfgang Zwickel, *Die Welt des Alten und Neuen Testaments: ein Sach- und Arbeitsbuch* (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1997), 54; Borowski, *Daily Life*, 73.

in a small *tabun* oven or over an open fire, perhaps with a *saj*.⁷ The *tannur* was the more permanent and bulky installation, less suited for semi-nomadic tent dwelling. The *tabun*, although it could be used for years, was easy enough to construct in a day, given the right access to clay.⁸ A *saj* or some dish to stretch across a small fire would also have been easily accessible. If a *tabun* was used, then Sarah would likely have piled fuel around the outside of the installation until hot, then slapped the dough to the inside walls of the oven until cooked. If she used a *saj*, then she would bend over the fire, stretch the dough across the instrument, flip it halfway through, and take it off when ready.⁹ Determining which of these two methods Sarah employed is not possible with the information available. The verb used here for cooking is simply עָשָׂה, whose attached concepts are highly generic or schematic and allow for a wide range of cooking possibilities. Nevertheless, the result of these two cooking processes would be similar—flat bread or cakes, good for dipping in, grabbing, and scooping up other food. It could double as both utensil and food.

After Abraham gets Sarah going on the bread, he himself goes to select a tender young calf to put out before his guests. Immediately one ought to notice that this is a rich offering indeed, though, as we have seen, hospitality often resulted in presenting the guests with meat taken from the flock. Abraham does not offer just a sheep or goat. This, instead, is a young calf from his herd. Abraham thereby demonstrates not only that he is a man of means, but also that he wishes to honour his guests lavishly. The description of meat preparation is unsurprisingly laconic. He has his servant hurry to prepare it. Of course, this too is not a quick procedure. One must first slaughter the animal and remove the hide and any unwanted portions. The meat must also be seasoned for roasting or boiling, after having been butchered into appropriately sized pieces. By which method of cooking, though, was this meat prepared: roasting or boiling? Again, as with the bread, we have only עָשָׂה as the cooking verb, too generic to guide us. We have textual evidence from other passages of both roasting and boiling meat, but there is not much of a clue here to tell us one way or the other. If roasted, there would need to be an open fire or fire pit large enough to accommodate an entire calf. If boiled, then the animal would have needed to be butchered into smaller pieces and cooked in a wide-mouthed cooking pot, either the hybrid-style or the larger Canaanite-style cooking pot,

7 See analysis of the verbal lexeme עָשָׂה.

8 Shafer-Elliott, *Food in Ancient Judah*, 144.

9 See photos 4 and 5 in the appendix.

both of which could be placed over an open fire or perhaps on the top of an oven, in this case a *tabun* where perhaps Sarah was already baking bread.¹⁰

For the last element, Abraham gathers some dairy products to fill out the meal. He brings milk, certainly collected from his animals that day, and חֶמֶץ. This latter is likely to be connected to ghee, similar to clarified butter, but prepared with herbs and spices, or occasionally made directly from the milk by churning it in an animal skin.¹¹ Again, neither the collection of milk nor the production of חֶמֶץ would have been a quick process, despite the hurried narrative here in Genesis 18.

Finally, Abraham presents the abundant feast to his visitors and stands by politely as they partake. If the visitors only arrived at the heat of the day, assuming this is in the middle of the afternoon, then they must not have been eating until at least some time in the later afternoon or early evening. If this is true, then verse 16 is somewhat troublesome, as it describes the visitors leaving, accompanied by Abraham, and heading off to Sodom. Since the ways are dangerous, it is unusual for anyone to be travelling by evening or night, even if they are accompanied by a host.¹² However, verse 16 does not specify when these visitors left, and it is entirely possible that they would have remained overnight with Abraham and Sarah. This again would accord with a common sense of hospitality. Therefore, though Abraham and Sarah are rushing to put food before their guests, we need not assume that the visitors ate quickly and left immediately afterward. It would have been too quick of a turnaround to have them show up in the heat of the day, have a feast prepared, and then head off to Sodom before dark. If we allow for the visitors to depart on the following day, then we can more safely assume that the food, though prepared hurriedly, took hours to get ready.

1.1 *Textual Conclusions*

We have seen here how not only archaeology can illuminate the reading of a text, but also cognitive semantics. Semantics determined the range of possibilities that the words of these texts could signify. The only cooking verb used here was עָשָׂה, used generically for preparing or making something. We know it is generic because of the wide range of cooking (and other) applications for which it is used. However, because it is generic and is being used in a schematic relationship with other known Hebrew lexemes, we can then draw

10 Killebrew, 'Late Bronze and Iron I Cooking Pots', 106–107.

11 King and Stager, *Life*, 103.

12 Compare even the beginning of the next chapter where Lot does not wish to let his visitors remain in the public square for the night.

conclusions about those lexemes. That is, עשה is here applied to the making of עגות and we discover, to a degree, what that process looks like—the time required, the cooking installation used, etc. However, there is a verb עוג, which is highly specific to the making of עגות, though it does not occur in this passage. We can, then, draw a link between how עשה is being used here to the conceptual content attached to the verb עוג. For example, to what we already know of עוג we can add the fact that the products of an עוג process are served alongside dairy and meat, and that it is a food considered worthy of honoured guests. To a lesser extent we could apply the same procedure to the meat preparation in Genesis 18. The reason our confidence is less is because we do not actually know whether the meat was roasted or boiled, and therefore we can only very tentatively make any claims about the roasting and boiling lexemes, צלה and בשל respectively. Nonetheless, we have glimpsed even a relatively small benefit of cognitive semantic analysis for exegeting a biblical text.

2 Text Two—A Meal Turned Offering in Judges 6

By chapter six of the book of Judges, we have already encountered a bending, twisting narrative of Israel's uneasy presence in the land. The opening chapters indicated that Israel had not succeeded in clearing out the land as they were told to do. It provides a less confident perspective on their present situation than the book of Joshua does. It is no surprise, therefore, to learn that Israel is presently oppressed and in need of deliverers, or judges. And thus YHWH raises up Israel's heroes, though they unfortunately were not cut from the same cloth as Moses or Joshua before them. Some were strong, clear-headed, and did what they were called to do, like Othniel. Some, like Gideon in chapter six, were a little less eager to step into the spotlight. Gideon, for his part, was found threshing and winnowing wheat in a wine press. This less-than-courageous activity served to prevent the Midianites from seeing his crop.¹³ At that point, Gideon received a visitor, telling him that he was a great warrior and that he would deliver Israel from these hated Midianites. Gideon was entirely unconvinced and appealed to his relative weakness in his family, and his clan's weakness among the tribe of Manasseh (v. 15). But Gideon's visitor, whose exact nature is

13 Neither was it likely very effective. Threshing and beating out grain was much better done at a threshing floor on top of a hill where the wind was stronger. When the farmer would toss the threshed grain up in the air, the wind would blow the chaff away and leave behind only what was desired. Cf. King and Stager, *Life*, 89.

as yet unknown to Gideon, hears nothing of it. Gideon is to strike down all of the Midianites who are presently oppressing the people of Israel. Upon hearing all this, Gideon remains somewhat unsure and looks for some assurance from this herald:

¹⁷ וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו אִם-נָא מִצָּאתִי חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ וְעָשִׂיתָ לִּי אוֹת שְׂאֵתָה מִדְּבַר עָמִי: ¹⁸ אֶל-נָא תָמַשׁ מִזֶּה עַד-בָּאִי אֵלֶיךָ וְהִצָּאתִי אֶת-מִנְחָתִי וְהִנַּחְתִּי לְפָנֶיךָ וַיֹּאמֶר אֲנֹכִי אֲשֵׁב עַד שׁוֹבֶדָּה: ¹⁹ וַיִּגְדְּעוּן בָּא וַיַּעַשׂ גְּדֵי-עֲזִים וַאֲיִפְתַּקְמַח מִצֹּת הַבָּשָׂר שֵׁם בֶּסֶל וְהַמָּרְק שֵׁם בַּפֶּה וַיִּצָּא אֵלָיו אֶל-תַּחַת הָאֵלֶּה וַיִּגֶשׁ: ²⁰ וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו מִלֶּאֲדָה הָאֵלֶּהִים קַח אֶת-הַבָּשָׂר וְאֶת-הַמִּצֹּת וְהִנַּח אֶל-הַסֵּלַע הַלֵּז וְאֶת-הַמָּרְק שִׁפּוֹךְ וַיַּעַשׂ כֵּן: ²¹ וַיִּשְׁלַח מִלֶּאֲדָה יְהוָה אֶת-קַצְהָ הַמִּשְׁעָנָה אֲשֶׁר בְּיָדוֹ וַיָּגַע בַּבָּשָׂר וּבַמִּצֹּת וַתַּעַל הָאֵשׁ מִן-הַצֹּר וַתֹּאכַל אֶת-הַבָּשָׂר וְאֶת-הַמִּצֹּת וּמִלֶּאֲדָה יְהוָה הֵלָךְ מֵעִינָיו: ²² וַיִּרְא גִּדְעוֹן כִּי-מִלֶּאֲדָה יְהוָה הוּא וַיֹּאמֶר גִּדְעוֹן אֶהְיֶה אֲדֹנִי יְהוָה כִּי-עַל-כֵּן רָאִיתִי מִלֶּאֲדָה יְהוָה פָּנִים אֶל-פָּנִים: ²³ וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ יְהוָה שָׁלוֹם לָךְ אֶל-תִּירָא לֹא תָמוּת: ²⁴ וַיִּבֶן שָׁם גִּדְעוֹן מִזְבֵּחַ לַיהוָה וַיִּקְרָא-לוֹ יְהוָה שָׁלוֹם עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה עוֹדָנוּ בַּעֲפָרַת אָבִי הָעֲזָרִי:

¹⁷ Then he said to him, 'If now I have found favor with you, then show me a sign that it is you who speak with me. ¹⁸ Do not depart from here until I come to you, and bring out my present, and set it before you'. And he said, 'I will stay until you return'. ¹⁹ So Gideon went into his house and prepared a kid, and unleavened cakes from an ephah of flour; the meat he put in a basket, and the broth he put in a pot, and brought them to him under the oak and presented them. ²⁰ The angel of God said to him, 'Take the meat and the unleavened cakes, and put them on this rock, and pour out the broth'. And he did so. ²¹ Then the angel of the LORD reached out the tip of the staff that was in his hand, and touched the meat and the unleavened cakes; and fire sprang up from the rock and consumed the meat and the unleavened cakes; and the angel of the LORD vanished from his sight. ²² Then Gideon perceived that it was the angel of the LORD; and Gideon said, 'Help me, Lord GOD! For I have seen the angel of the LORD face to face'. ²³ But the LORD said to him, 'Peace be to you; do not fear, you shall not die'. ²⁴ Then Gideon built an altar there to the LORD, and called it, The LORD is peace. To this day it still stands at Ophrah, which belongs to the Abiezrites.

So Gideon prepares a meal for his guest, though he introduces this meal as a gift or offering, מִנְחָה, suggesting that he might suspect the divine nature of this visitor. He prepares bread and meat, a meal suitable for a wayfarer or perhaps as a sacrificial offering. But again, the narrative here moves rather quickly, describing in one verse what surely took several hours to prepare. For the

present, we will slow down where the narrator speeds up, deducing subtleties that might otherwise go unnoticed.

First, the narrator tells us that Gideon prepared a kid. This is not a young calf such as Abraham prepared, but Gideon does not appear to be as wealthy as Abraham had been. Nevertheless, good hospitality requires more than the average fare. As we would expect, therefore, Gideon decides that he must provide meat for his guest. As was typical, this meat came from his flock, in this case a young goat. The Hebrew merely tells us that he prepared the kid, עֵשָׂה, but does not tell us how. We know that עֵשָׂה can cover a multitude of cooking scenarios, being connected to rather generic conceptual content. Therefore, we are still left wondering whether Gideon roasted or boiled the meat. Verse twenty, though, clarifies the matter. Once Gideon has brought the meal back to his visitor, he is told to pour out the מֶרֶק. This מֶרֶק is most likely the broth in which the meat has been boiled.¹⁴ It is certainly a liquid, which Gideon is told to pour out (שָׁפַךְ). Theoretically it could be a sauce to go with the meal, rather than the broth, but for two things. First, Gideon is already cooking meat and making bread; is it reasonable to assume that he has a third simultaneous project on the go? Second, the actual cooking description mentions only preparing meat and making bread. There is no mention of another food item. The מֶרֶק, therefore, must be a by-product of one of the other two mentioned processes, meat preparation being the obvious choice. We can, then, confidently suggest that Gideon boiled the meat, and therefore the author could have used the more specific lexeme בָּשַׁל, but chose rather the generic עֵשָׂה instead. We will return to the significance of this point later.

In order to boil the kid Gideon certainly needed a pot with a relatively wide aperture, similar either to the Canaanite cooking pot or the hybrid cooking pot. He may have cooked it over a hearth-fire, or on the top of an oven. If he was economizing, as the hard times likely required, he probably would have chosen the latter. Additionally, it would have meant that he could keep an eye on both procedures at the same time. In order to make the broth, he would have required some liquid and possibly some herbs to season it. Gideon is said to come from Ophrah, a village belonging to the tribe of Manasseh, and which was probably located in what is referred to as the hill country of Ephraim, the high central ridge between Bethel and the Jezreel Valley.¹⁵ Here, the hard limestone would have presented good water storage in cisterns, wells, and springs. Therefore, liquid for the broth was probably not the chief of Gideon's worries.

14 Koehler et al., *HALOT*, ad loc.

15 Rainey, *The Sacred Bridge*, 139–140.

More difficult for Gideon, though, would have been the bread. The narrator tells us that Gideon prepared (עשה) unleavened bread or cakes from an ephah of flour. To the modern reader, reading quickly and being largely ignorant of ancient systems of measurement, this does not normally cause any surprise. But surprise is certainly warranted. Not only did Gideon prepare an entire kid for a single guest, but he also made cakes from roughly 15–25 litres of grain!¹⁶ This was approximately the same amount of flour that Abraham had Sarah use for three visitors. It was a huge quantity. What makes this all the more extravagant is that the story begins with Gideon threshing and winnowing wheat in a winepress, hidden away from the Midianites. He cannot have a massive store of wheat at hand when Midianites are pillaging and when he is using ineffective processing techniques. Nevertheless, Gideon is not one for subtlety, and so we are left with this perhaps comical image of Gideon weighed down by massive quantities of bread and meat as he struggles to present them to his guest.

We do not know many details about Gideon's bread, but we do know that it was unleavened (v. 19). Because it was unleavened, we can assume that Gideon may not have had any of it ready beforehand. Unleavened bread was certainly a quicker procedure than leavened bread. We can also assume that this bread was made from wheat (חטים), which he was said to be threshing and winnowing in verse 11. As we have remarked, wheat was the preferred alternative to barley for human consumption, and thus it only makes sense that Gideon would provide his guest with bread baked from wheat. We can also assume that the wheat was probably ground that day or very recently, and it was probably done by one of the women in his household.¹⁷ It is perhaps strange that the narrator says that Gideon made the bread, when this was an activity typical of women, but this need not bother us. Either the narrator could have glossed over the fact that Gideon, like Abraham, delegated responsibility for making the bread, or we could take the narration at face value, and do the same in Genesis 19:3 where Lot is said to have baked unleavened bread for his guests.

2.1 *Textual Conclusions*

The story of Gideon's call and meal for his divine visitor was not a complex and confusing tale. However, a closer look at the food ways that lay behind it has aided us in filling in some of the colour that we may otherwise have missed. We find Gideon, who is hiding his likely meagre rations of wheat from Midianites,

16 This was roughly three seahs. Cf. King and Stager, *Life*, 200; Daniel Isaac Block, *Judges, Ruth*, The New American Commentary 6 (Nashville: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 1999), 263.

17 Ebeling, *Women's Lives*, 48–50.

receive a commission to deliver his people, and after some initial reluctance produces a lavish feast for his guest, a feast of absurd quantity for one person. But the visitor accepts this feast as an offering, consumes it with fire and disappears, leaving Gideon with little question as to the nature of that person.

We furthermore learned that Gideon boiled the meat for this meal, and brought it to his guest together with broth. And Gideon's unleavened cakes were most certainly made from wheat, rather than the poorer fare from barley. We learned that all of this activity could be summed up with one verb, the generic עשה. As such, we saw how עשה can stand in for other cooking verbs, which in this text would undoubtedly have been בשל for the meat, and אפה for the bread.¹⁸ Consequently, we can conclude that the activity being described here can be used to better understand both בשל and אפה. It is the cognitive method that permits such a crossover, when the lexemes in question are not even present. But because we know that these lexemes *could* be used here, we can add this text to our repertoire.

One final point about this text remains, and that is the use of עשה to cover, in one move, both a baking and a boiling scenario. Many have argued that בשל can be a generic cooking verb, perhaps covering 'cook', 'roast', and 'bake', as well as the traditional 'boil'.¹⁹ In this text in Judges 6, we have some evidence that perhaps this is not the case. If בשל could simply be a generic cooking verb, then why is it not used here instead of עשה? Is it only עשה that can cover so generic a range as 'cook'? We cannot, on this text alone, be sure of this. We cannot rely entirely on argument from silence. We can, however, hold on to it as at least one possible piece of evidence toward treating בשל simply as 'boil'.

3 Text Three—2 Kings 4—Death in the Pot, and Other Such Tales

The book of 2 Kings opens in the middle of the Elijah-Elisha narratives. While the Omride dynasty in the northern Kingdom is inching toward its demise, the prophetic mantle is passed from Elijah, who ascends to heaven, to his protégé Elisha. The following chapters, in addition to describing the political events of Israel and Judah, seek to demonstrate Elisha's validity as Elijah's successor. To this end, Elisha is said to perform miracles in chapter 2, counsel Israel and Judah in their campaign against Moab in chapter 3, and then perform yet more miracles in chapter 4. In verses 38 and following of chapter 4 we encounter two

18 אפה and עשה being the only two cooking verbs applied to מצות/מִצוֹת.

19 For a lengthier discussion as well as secondary literature, see the sections below regarding the Passover texts and 2 Samuel 13.

of Elisha's miracles that pertain to food. The first is the famous 'death in the pot' story, and the second is the miraculous feeding of a multitude with seemingly insufficient resources.

³⁸וַאֲלִישָׁע שָׁב הַגִּלְגָּל וְהָרָעָב בָּאָרֶץ וּבְנֵי הַנְּבִיאִים יֹשְׁבִים לִפְנָיו וַיֹּאמֶר לְנַעֲרֹ שִׁפְתֵּי הַסֵּיר הַגָּדוֹלָה וּבִשְׁלֵ נֶזֶד לִבְנֵי הַנְּבִיאִים: ³⁹וַיֵּצֵא אֶחָד אֶל־הַשָּׂדֶה לְלַקֵּט אֹרֶז וַיִּמְצֵא גִפְנוֹ שָׂדֶה וּלְלַקֵּט מִמֶּנּוּ פָקַעַת שָׂדֶה מְלֵא בִגְדוֹ וַיָּבֹא וַיִּפְלֹחַ אֶל־סֵיר הַנֶּזֶד כִּי־לֹא יָדְעוּ: ⁴⁰וַיֵּצְקוּ לְאִנְשֵׁים לֶאֱכֹל וַיְהִי בְּאֹכְלָם מִהַנֶּזֶד וְהָמָּה צָעֲקוּ וַיֹּאמְרוּ מוֹת בְּסִיר אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים וְלֹא יָכִלוּ לֶאֱכֹל: ⁴¹וַיֹּאמֶר וּקְחוּ־קֶמַח וַיִּשְׁלַךְ אֶל־הַסֵּיר וַיֹּאמֶר עַק לָעֵם וַיֹּאכְלוּ וְלֹא הָיָה דְבַר רָע בְּסִיר: ⁴²וַאֲיֵשׁ בָּא מִבְּעַל שְׁלֹשָׁה וַיָּבֹא לְאִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים לֶחֶם בְּבוּרִים עֲשָׂרִים־לֶחֶם שְׁעָרִים וַיִּכְרַמְל בַּצִּקְלָנוּ וַיֹּאמֶר תֵּן לָעֵם וַיֹּאכְלוּ: ⁴³וַיֹּאמֶר מִשְׁרָתוֹ מָה אֵתָּן זֶה לִפְנֵי מַאֲהָ אִישׁ וַיֹּאמֶר תֵּן לָעֵם וַיֹּאכְלוּ כִּי כָה אָמַר יְהוָה אֲכֹל וְהוֹתֵר: ⁴⁴וַיִּתֵּן לִפְנֵיהֶם וַיֹּאכְלוּ וַיֹּתֵרוּ כַּדְּבַר יְהוָה

³⁸ When Elisha returned to Gilgal, there was a famine in the land. As the company of prophets was sitting before him, he said to his servant, 'Put the large pot on, and make some stew for the company of prophets'. ³⁹ One of them went out into the field to gather herbs; he found a wild vine and gathered from it a lapful of wild gourds, and came and cut them up into the pot of stew, not knowing what they were. ⁴⁰ They served some for the men to eat. But while they were eating the stew, they cried out, 'O man of God, there is death in the pot!' They could not eat it. ⁴¹ He said, 'Then bring some flour'. He threw it into the pot, and said, 'Serve the people and let them eat'. And there was nothing harmful in the pot. ⁴² A man came from Baal-shalishah, bringing food from the first fruits to the man of God: twenty loaves of barley and fresh ears of grain in his sack. Elisha said, 'Give it to the people and let them eat'. ⁴³ But his servant said, 'How can I set this before a hundred people?' So he repeated, 'Give it to the people and let them eat, for thus says the LORD, "They shall eat and have some left"'. ⁴⁴ He set it before them, they ate, and had some left, according to the word of the LORD.

This text begins with the mention of a famine in the land. It sets the reader to perk up at the mere mention of food. And so, in the first tale, Elisha is said to be with the company of prophets at Gilgal in the Jordan valley, and decides that they should all have a stew. Someone from their group went off in search of ingredients. In addition to herbs (אֹרֶז) he found a wild vine of gourds (פָּקַעַת שָׂדֶה), which he greedily gathered, brought back, and cut up into the pot. When the stew was ready, it was served, but not to the satisfaction of the company. There was 'death in the pot' as it were, and the prophets were afraid. Elisha

knows what to do. He has some flour brought, tosses it in the stew and thereby renders it safe for consumption.

Perhaps the most obvious exegetical point here revolves around the ‘death in the pot’ and the gourds that caused it. Clearly the prophets thought that there was something harmful in the pot. Some commentators simply suggest that the stew must have been bitter and that they associated bitterness with poison.²⁰ Others have thought to identify the gourd with a known plant, and the general consensus has landed on the *citrullus colocynthis*.²¹ This plant produces fruit roughly the size of an orange, which is green and yellow, and intensely bitter when eaten. It inhabits many different regions in Palestine including the Jordan Valley and around the Dead Sea. Furthermore, the pulp of the fruit is presently used medicinally as a drastic cathartic.²² It seems to fit the description in the text quite adequately. But Elisha’s next move is somewhat confusing, as he decides to throw some flour into the pot, which makes it safe to consume. Some suggest that this is just another one of the wonders that Elisha is said to perform and has no basis in practical remedies, but others search for such an answer. Sweeney argues that ‘although the narrative presents this as a magical act, the meal would absorb oil and provide some coating in the stomach that would protect those eating the food’.²³ In either case, the narrative seems to present Elisha’s act as miraculous and one which further legitimates him as Elijah’s successor.

In this story we get a glimpse into the preparation of stew. A large pot (סִיר) is used, and can reasonably be equated either with the Canaanite open-mouthed pot, or the hybrid style pot. A mixture of ingredients are sought to add to the stew. We know that a stew could have contained a variety of different foodstuffs,

20 Gwilym H. Jones, *1 and 2 Kings*, vol. 2, New Century Bible Commentary (Grand Rapids; London: W. B. Eerdmans; Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1984), 411; T. R. Hobbs, *2 Kings*, Word Biblical Commentary 16 (Waco: Word Books, 1985), 53.

21 For example, Mordechai Cogan and Hayim Tadmor, eds., *II Kings*, The Anchor Bible 11 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1988), 58.

22 Naomi Feinbrun-Dothan, *Ericaceae to Compositae*, vol. 1, Flora Palaestina 3 (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1978), 275; For a reasoned evaluation of the situation, see Harold N. Moldenke and Alma L. Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible*, *Chronica Botanica* 28 (New York: Ronald Press Company, 1952), 78–80; For a rather unconvincing rebuttal to identifying the gourd at all, see Wesley J. Bergen, *Elisha and the End of Prophetism*, *Journal for the Study of Old Testament Supplement Series* 286 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 105–106.

23 Marvin A. Sweeney, *I & II Kings: A Commentary*, The Old Testament Library (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007), 292.

including meat, lentils and other pulses, vegetables, etc.²⁴ The lexeme used for stew is *נִיד*, and is only used elsewhere in Haggai 2:12 and Genesis 25 where Jacob is making a (red) lentil stew.²⁵ All we know of the ingredients here, however, is that this man searched for herbs and found wild gourds. If there were other items in the stew, apart from water as a base, we cannot tell. The water may have come from a variety of sources. The rainfall from the Hill Country to the west finds its ways through wadis and underground channels to springs and oases down in the Jordan Valley. If there were a famine in the land, however, the cereal crops were likely low, and this would likely have been due to little rainfall. We can at least assume that the provisions for this meal were not in abundance, not least because someone had to go out searching for something to put in the stew, rather than simply taking ingredients from a stockpile.

We also know that the verbal lexeme used here to describe the preparation of the stew is *בשל*, which is typically used for liquid cooking. This kind of cooking, with a large pot, would have been performed on top of an oven or over an open fire. It is unclear as to whether Elisha and the prophets are in a fixed dwelling, but if they are not, then an open fire is more likely. If they are in a fixed dwelling, where installations such as ovens are more probable, then either option is possible. The fact that no bread is mentioned may push us towards the open fire perspective, for using an oven to make stew but not bothering to make bread even when there seems to be spare flour around seems unusual.

The fact that *בשל* is used to describe the cooking is significant also because of its connection to the story in Genesis 25, with Jacob cooking lentil stew at home. In that passage, the stew (*נִיד*) is depicted as being cooked by means of the verb *נִיד*, an apparent cognate of the noun. If both *נִיד* and *בשל* can be used to describe the making of stew, then there must be a semantic link between the two. This link is rather straightforward: *בשל* is more generic than *נִיד*. While the latter may only apply to stew, the former can apply to any type of liquid cooking. Moreover, we can safely deduce that the actions of Jacob in Genesis 25 can therefore also be applied to the conceptual content associated with *בשל*.

Before moving forward, a quick note is in order regarding Elisha's next miracle described in verses 42–44. There is no cooking verb here, but we can nevertheless make a few exegetical points. The man is said to be carrying loaves of barley and a bag of fresh grain, brought as an offering. As we have noted earlier, barley was considered poorer fare than wheat in ancient Palestine. Perhaps

24 For more information on what was available, see the description of food items in the backgrounds chapter.

25 The passage from Haggai has no description of the stew itself and is therefore of little value here.

this man is poor, or perhaps the famine mentioned in verse 48 is still in effect here and the man takes from his animal feed to make bread for human consumption. There is no indication as to how the bread was baked, whether in an oven or on a *saj*, or some other method.

The fresh grain, כֶּרֶךְל, is a common food, as it was edible immediately upon harvesting. This stage in the growth cycle is described carefully by Avitsur:

The ears are not yet completely yellow, the kernels not quite ripe and dry and still short of their full weight. Though hard, the kernels can still be eaten raw. After roasting they may be stored for a long time and made fit for eating by steeping in boiling water, re-roasting or pounding.²⁶

There is no mention of preparing these ears of grain in any further way, roasting or otherwise, and so it appears as though the people ate them fresh, together with the bread made from barley, all miraculously multiplied by the prophet Elisha.

3.1 *Textual Conclusions*

In 2 Kings 4:38ff we learn both about the making of stew and about the conceptual content of בָּשַׁל (and to a certain degree זִיד). בָּשַׁל has usually been used to describe boiling some portion of meat. But here we find it being applied to the preparation of a liquid food item. Because it also stands in a schematic relationship with זִיד, we can expand the conceptual background for בָּשַׁל to cover the stew-scene in Genesis 25 as well.

As for the exegesis of this particular text, we learn that the stew was likely prepared not with meat, as would be quite rich during a famine, but with herbs and wild gourds. It was made in a large pot, either the open-mouthed Canaanite pot or the hybrid cooking pot, and this was done most likely over an open fire. It is also very plausible to connect the wild gourds to a known species, *citrullus colocynthis*, that grows in the area and has the properties that would fit this story adequately.

4 Text Four—Deceptive Slumber and Raging Fire in Hosea 7:4–9

The book of Hosea is deeply concerned with the idolatry of the kingdom of Israel. YHWH has his prophet Hosea embody this relationship with his wife Gomer, who is unfaithful and prostitutes herself out to others, hence illustrating

²⁶ Avitsur, 'Way to Bread', 228.

idolatry in terms of adultery. Hosea the man, however, is to take her back and show her love the way that YHWH has shown love to his people. Yet this does not suggest that YHWH is done accusing Israel of her wrongdoings. The book continues in this to and fro of acceptance and judgment right to its conclusion, but for the present, it is the content of chapter 7 that is the most relevant to the purposes of this study.

Chapter 7 of Hosea confronts the reader with a damning picture of the northern Israelite kingdom, here called Ephraim. There is no softening of the blow, no easing off. Ephraim is treacherous, wicked, and has no way by which to redeem itself. This text represents a time in Israel, as Shalom Paul describes it, with ‘unbridled murder and political chaos and vacillation’.²⁷ The scene here described is plausibly set in the second half of the 8th century BCE, after the death of Jeroboam II, when Israel passed from king to king in rapid succession, exhibiting little if any stability.

Hosea’s prophecy represents this anarchy by means of baking imagery, and thereby gives us an insight not only into political intrigue, but also into the world of baking in Iron Age Israel and the language used to describe it. The section of Hosea 7 that is salient for our discussion is as follows:

כָּלֶם מִנְאֲפִים כְּמוֹ תִנּוֹר בְּעֵרָה מֵאִפָּה יִשְׁבּוֹת מַעִיר מְלוֹשׁ בְּצֶק עַד־חֲמֻצָּתוֹ: ⁵ יוֹם מִלְכָּנוּ
הִחֲלוּ שָׂרִים חֲמַת מִיּוֹן מִשְׁדָּ יָדוֹ אֶת־לִצְצִים: ⁶ כִּי־קִרְבּוֹ כִּתְנּוֹר לֶבֶם בְּאֶרְבָּם כָּל־הַלֵּילָה
יִשֹּׁן אִפְהֶם בָּקָר הוּא בָּעֵר כָּאֵשׁ לְהִבָּה: ⁷ כָּלֶם יִחַמוּ כִּתְנּוֹר וְאָכְלוּ אֶת־שִׁפְטֵיהֶם כָּל־
מְלָכֵיהֶם נָפְלוּ אִין־קִרָא בָהֶם אֵלֵי: ⁸ אֶפְרָיִם בְּעַמִּים הוּא יִתְבּוֹלֵל אֶפְרָיִם הִיא עֵגָה בְּלִי
הַפּוֹכָה: ⁹ אָכְלוּ זָרִים כָּחוֹ וְהוּא לֹא יָדַע גַּם־שִׁיבָה זָרָקָה בּוֹ וְהוּא לֹא יָדַע

⁴ They are all adulterers; they are like a heated oven, whose baker does not need to stir the fire, from the kneading of the dough until it is leavened. ⁵ On the day of our king the officials became sick with the heat of wine; he stretched out his hand with mockers. ⁶ For they are kindled like an oven, their heart burns within them; all night their anger [baking/baker] smolders [sleeps]; in the morning it blazes like a flaming fire. ⁷ All of them are hot as an oven, and they devour their rulers. All their kings have fallen; none of them calls upon me. ⁸ Ephraim mixes himself with the peoples; Ephraim is a cake not turned. ⁹ Foreigners devour his strength, but he does not know it; gray hairs are sprinkled upon him, but he does not know it.

27 Shalom M. Paul, ‘The Image of the Oven and the Cake in Hosea VII 4–10’, *Vetus Testamentum* 18 (1968): 114.

Two clarifications are required in order to understand this text more fully: what the baking activities here laid out actually are, and what the meaning of אִפְּהָם in verse 6 is. These two features are intrinsically linked and so will be addressed as such.

Based on the consonantal text in the MT, אִפְּהָם could either be from the root אָפַה (bake) or from אָא (anger). If it is exclusively of the latter, then it may be disregarded for this study; if it is of the former, then it could be read as a participle acting as a title, thus a 'baker'. Notably, *DCH* and *BDB* read the form as being from אָפַה, whereas *HALOT* emends the pointing to make it read as אָא, along with the Syriac [ܐܦܗܐ=ʾwqz/hwn] and the Targum [רְגִזָּהוּן], both of which must be reading אָא and translating it with the root *rgz*, 'anger'.²⁸ In either case, the text as it stands does not conform to any known pattern.²⁹ In order to solve this problem, we must look more closely at the linguistic and historical contexts.³⁰

Clearly, the scenario in Hosea 7 involves food preparation, and indeed baking. Therefore, the cognitive domain for the form אִפְּהָם could easily be [FOOD PREPARATION]. The problem chiefly derives from the fact that the scenario also clearly involves concepts of anger and flame, and therefore the operative cognitive domain could also be [ANGER]. The *NRSV*, given above, reads it as anger, suggesting that their (the officials') anger smoulders or sleeps all night and in the morning blazes like a flaming fire. Why their anger would sleep and then blaze in the morning is not entirely clear.³¹

One commentator who reads the text this way is Shalom Paul, who prefers the imagery of rage to that of baking. To that end, at the potential difficulty

28 Major English translations *NRSV*, *ESV*, *NIV* and *JPS* all read the occurrence in 7:4 as אָפַה, but only the *JPS* reads the one in 7:6 as still being from אָפַה. The others agree with *HALOT* in its emendation.

29 If the form is to be understood as being from אָא, then one must explain away the Masoretic pointing as a mistake, and most likely dismiss the presence of the ה as well, given that the expected form is אָאָ, cf. Gen 49:6, 7; 2 Chron 25:10; Ps 124:3; (and Ezek 8:17). If it is to be understood, instead, as being from אָפַה, then one must explain the missing root letter ה as having dropped out before the ה of the possessive suffix, giving אִפְּהָם instead of either אִפְּהָה, or אָפַה/אָפַם. Both options are certainly plausible. However, an electronic search will show that no other III-ה verb in the participle shows this tendency of dropping the root ה before the suffix.

30 It is worth noting at this point, that the author may simply be playing with words artfully, in a way pointing us both toward baking as well as anger.

31 Graham I. Davies, *Hosea*, The New Century Bible Commentary (London; Grand Rapids: Marshall Pickering; Eerdmans, 1992), 185.

of מְנַאֲפִים in verse 4, he decides to emend the text to read אֲנַפִּים instead.³² Therefore, instead of calling the elite of Samaria adulterers, Hosea says that they are raging. This, then, predisposes Paul to emend אֲנַפִּים later to אֲנַהֲם and read it as ‘their fury’.³³ With this reading in mind, Paul argues that the conspirators are said to rest overnight while the dough rises, and then ‘once again blaze up to renew their nefarious intrigues’.³⁴ It is a straightforward argument, but one cannot be confident that Paul has read the text correctly, not least because he employs several textual emendations. His analysis of the symbolism leans also on the minimalist side, and does not answer why there is a lull and a flaming up of the officials’ rage, why it sleeps and then suddenly awakes.

Deist, however, has made a slightly different connection between the world of the language users and the text of Hosea 7. He mentions that the fire in these ancient ovens would need to be stirred constantly to ensure the burning of the wood down to coals. Coals were much more stable in terms of the heat produced. Once this was accomplished, then the bread could be placed in the oven and the oven sealed while the bread baked. Finally, once baked, the bread could be removed for consumption. However, if at the beginning the baker did not stir the fire adequately, as suggested here in verse four, then its wood would not have been entirely burnt up. The baker would have put the bread in the oven and sealed it, while the fire slept or smouldered, but, when the baker opened the oven, the inrush of oxygen would cause the remaining wood to blaze up and thereby to scorch or consume the bread entirely.³⁵ According to this view, the imagery does not suggest that the rage fluctuates, but rather that the fire is deceptive. It appears to slumber passively, but at the crucial moment it scorches the bread it was meant to bake. If this is true, then it would furthermore make sense to maintain the MT reading of מְנַאֲפִים in verse four as ‘adulterers’, that is, those who are unfaithful and deceptive.

From what we have learned regarding ovens and baking practices in ancient Palestine, this scenario that Deist has described is entirely possible. His is a very appealing reading of the text. But there remains one major flaw: he reads אֲנַהֲם as ‘their baking’. This reading, however, accounts for neither of the two options discussed above, ‘their baker’ or ‘their anger’. Deist’s ‘their baking’ would read אֲנַהֲם as an infinitive construct, rather than as a participle. Granted, when the *Qal* infinitive construct takes a pronominal suffix, the typical reflex is to have an o-class vowel following the first consonant, as we have here. The rest of the

32 Paul, ‘Image of the Oven’, 115.

33 Ibid., 116.

34 Ibid.

35 Deist, *The Material Culture of the Bible*, 194–195.

form, however, does not conform to any known patterns. What may redeem Deist's suggestion, though, is that the form אִפְהֶם is opaque regardless of which reading one prefers. It does not fit with any expected morphology for any of the alternatives offered. Either one must emend the text, as some do, or read it as it is, it being an example either of an unknown form (perhaps northern) or an example of the author's artistry. Many have sided with emendation together with the later Targum and Syriac witnesses, but Deist gives us the option to stay with the Masoretic Text so long as the reading is plausible. Given that his proposal accords well with what we know of baking, perhaps this view has some exegetical traction.

One brief point must be made regarding verse eight before proceeding further. Ephraim is said to be a cake not turned. The Hebrew here is not difficult, but the image is one that we ought to clarify. Ephraim is an עֲגָה, a cake or flat-bread. This item of food was discussed earlier with respect to the Genesis 18 passage. In that case, it was not entirely clear whether Sarah baked the bread in a *tabun* or over a fire, perhaps with a *saj*. In this case, it appears to be clearer. The most obvious activity being described here is baking over a fire. It is not easy to flip bread once it is inside the *tabun*, nor would it be entirely necessary. On a *saj* or directly on coals, however, if a cake were not flipped, it would burn on one side and be uncooked on the other. Hosea describes here a two-fold demise for Israel. On the one side they are devoured by the nations (scorched by the fire), and on the other grey hairs are sprinkled. According to Paul, this latter image of grey hair can be explained by appeal to tablet XI of the Gilgamesh Epic in which the Akkadian equivalent to the Hebrew phrase שִׁיבָה זֶרְקָה means something like 'throw off mould' or 'become mouldy'.³⁶ And so the image of Ephraim is one of a nation being consumed from all sides, both scorched and consumed by mould. However, as Hosea suggests, Ephraim is completely clueless to it all.

What, then, does this passage tell us about cooking lexemes in Biblical Hebrew? There are no finite cooking verbs here, so traditional semantics would suggest that we cannot make any conclusions about those verbs. However, we know that a baking scene is here depicted, and that at least once, if not twice, the root אִפַּה is employed, albeit not in a verbal state. But if a word is connected to conceptual content in the mind of the language user, then any information about baking where the verbal form אִפַּה could plausibly be used can also be used to fill out the conceptual hinterground of that word. That is, Hosea 7 contains a baking scene, an activity where אִפַּה could be used, though the author chose not to use it. This passage can fill out the conceptual content associated

36 Paul, 'Image of the Oven', 119–120.

with אֶפֶה. We can therefore confidently assert that baking, and consequently אֶפֶה, typically entailed stirring a fire within an oven. Assuming that Deist's view is correct, we also confirm here in this passage that proper baking required letting the wood and fuel burn down to coals and ashes, so that the heat would be stable enough for making bread. We furthermore learn that, according to verse eight, an עֵגֶה is something that can be turned, and therefore something that can be baked over a fire, probably on something like a *saj*. If that is true, then we can also deduce that this activity forms, if only in part, the conceptual content for עֹג, which, as discussed in the lexemes chapter, simply entails making עֵגֶה. Whether or not this is the only image associated with עֹג is not clear, but it is at least one of the possibilities.

4.1 *Textual Conclusions*

The elite of Samaria, the top officials of the Northern Kingdom in the latter 8th century are utterly deceitful, plotting against their rulers and unwittingly bringing about their own destruction in the process. They appeared passive, seeming to slumber, only to strike unexpectedly and scorch their king. They are furthermore being devoured from all sides, like an unturned cake. Having learned this we were able to make conclusions about two Hebrew verbal lexemes and their related conceptual content. We connected the oven imagery of verses 4–7 to the lexeme אֶפֶה, and the cake-turning imagery to the lexeme עֹג. We have extra-linguistic information, or a glimpse of encyclopaedic knowledge, funneled through the cognitive domain of [FOOD PREPARATION], to make meaningful observations about Hebrew words.

5 **Text Five—Cooking up the Passover: A Triangulated Reading of Exodus 12:9, Deuteronomy 16:7 and 2 Chronicles 35:13**

Of all the cooking scenarios described in the Hebrew Bible, one might expect that the one most closely and narrowly prescribed would be the cooking of the Passover animal—central to the identity of Israel as remembered in the biblical text. However, it is precisely this act which presents perhaps the most confusion. This confusion arises not from one text alone, but from three different texts all referring to cooking the Passover. These texts are as follows: Exodus 12:8–9; Deuteronomy 16:7; and 2 Chronicles 35:13.

The first of these is certainly the most famous. The Israelites are in Egypt, having been oppressed by Pharaoh and his regime, and they have a deliverer in the person of Moses, who has been commissioned as such by YHWH, the god of their fathers. In the showdown between Moses and Pharaoh, YHWH

has brought catastrophic events against Egypt as a demonstration of power. Until now, Pharaoh has not heeded the message. At this point YHWH tells his people to prepare a lamb according to certain specifications and to prepare for the final catastrophe, the death of the firstborn. The cooking is prescribed as follows:

Exodus 12:8–9

וְאָכְלוּ אֶת־הַבָּשָׂר בַּלַּיְלָה הַזֶּה צֵלִי־אֵשׁ וּמִצּוֹת עַל־מָרִים יֹאכְלֶהוּ:⁸ אֲלֹת־אֲכָלוּ מִמֶּנּוּ נֶאֱמָר וּבָשָׂל מְבֻשָּׁל בְּמִים כִּי אִם־צֵלִי־אֵשׁ רֹאשׁוֹ עַל־כַּרְעֵיו וְעַל־קֶרְבּוֹ:⁹

⁸ They shall eat the lamb that same night; they shall eat it roasted over the fire with unleavened bread and bitter herbs. ⁹ Do not eat any of it raw or boiled in water, but roasted over the fire, with its head, legs, and inner organs.

Deuteronomy's prescription of the Passover takes place in a very different setting from that of the Exodus. In this case the Israelites are said to be in the wilderness and Moses is explaining YHWH's teachings to them as they are to be followed from now onward. The cooking of the Passover is just one of many such teachings that the Israelites are to follow. Its details are as follows:

Deuteronomy 16:7

וּבִשְׁלֹתָ וְאָכַלְתָּ בַּמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר יִבְחַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בּוֹ וּפָנִיתָ בִּבְקָר וְהִלַּכְתָּ לְאֵלֶיךָ:

You shall cook [boil] it and eat it at the place that the LORD your God will choose; the next morning you may go back to your tents.

The third Passover text is of an entirely different sort. In this instance, it is not a prescription at all. Instead, it describes the Passover as King Josiah celebrated it in his day. According to 2 Chronicles, Josiah had found the Book of the Law and set about purifying Judah (and Israel) according to its teachings. High places were torn down, the covenant was renewed, and Josiah set about to prepare a proper Passover celebration. Integral to such a celebration was the cooking of the Passover lamb, as conveyed in 35:13:

2 Chronicles 35:13

וַיִּבְשְׁלוּ הַפֶּסַח בָּאֵשׁ כַּמִּשְׁפָּט וְהַקֹּדְשִׁים בְּשָׁלוֹ בַּסִּירוֹת וּבִדְוָדִים וּבַצִּלָּחוֹת וַיִּרְצוּ לְכָל־בְּנֵי הָעָם:

They roasted [cooked/boiled] the passover lamb with fire according to the ordinance; and they boiled the holy offerings in pots, in caldrons, and in pans, and carried them quickly to all the people.

Naturally, those who do not read these three texts with a mind to following the directives found in them might miss the problem. Those, however, who would use these texts in order to follow their prescription, would have some difficulty deciding what to do, how to cook the animal. That is, whereas Exodus seems to suggest that the animal should not be בָּשַׁל-ed, but roasted over fire, Deuteronomy suggests that it ought to be בָּשַׁל-ed.² Chronicles adds to the confusion, saying that at Josiah's Passover they בָּשַׁל-ed it with fire, according to custom or ordinance. How does one navigate such a problem?

As the discussion hinges upon the lexeme בָּשַׁל and the concept it represents, it is possible to use this one lexeme to frame the various possible arguments for solving the problem.

Argument One:

The lexeme בָּשַׁל in the *Pi'el* may, or always does, represent the verbal concept 'cook'.³⁷ Therefore, there was no contradiction between the Passover prescriptions in Exodus and Deuteronomy. Exodus prescribes roasting, and Deuteronomy more generally prescribes cooking. The Chronicler saw no inconsistency with his sources, but nevertheless harmonized the terminology from both sources, perhaps in an attempt to maintain the integrity of both. He meant 'cook in fire' as in 'roast'.

It is not surprising that many commentators throughout history have supported this argument. The obvious reason for doing so is that this argument sees no contradiction between biblical texts, and thereby maintains the seeming integrity of the entire canon. Finding apparent contradictions would have been seen as a blow to the religious adherents of the text.

The early Rabbinic community surely fell into this category. *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael* goes so far as to suggest not that בָּשַׁל means 'cook' but that it can actually mean 'roast' and cites both Deuteronomy 16:7 and 2 Chronicles 35:13 as proof for such a claim.³⁸ Centuries later, Rashi was slightly more subtle on the

37 For the remainder of this discussion I will assume that we are discussing only the Piel form of the verb, and not the one occurrence in both *Qal* and *Hiphil binyanim*.

38 בָּשַׁל, vi. See Lauterbach's edition: Jacob Z. Lauterbach, *Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1933), 49. See also *M. Pesahim* 74a where the early Rabbis discuss the exact means by which one may roast the Passover animal. *M. Pesahim* 40b–41a describes the Passover as simply to be roasted. There is no allowance

matter. He held that both Deuteronomy 16:7 and 2 Chronicles 35:13 are in line with Exodus 12:9 in that the Passover is to be roasted. בָּשַׁל, in Deuteronomy, he says, is a general term for cooking, and finds no Passover discrepancy.³⁹ Ibn Ezra similarly holds that there is no contradiction between Exodus and Deuteronomy and cites 2 Chronicles as evidence that בָּשַׁל can mean 'roast'.⁴⁰ This line of thinking, as is quickly seen, is circular and does not add anything to our knowledge of בָּשַׁל. Nevertheless, this argument has not entirely disappeared, and there are many modern commentators who express it, with differing degrees of confidence.⁴¹ The general trend in this group is to rely on the fact that בָּשַׁל is sometimes less than clear in its conceptual content. If it is unclear, how can we be confident that it must be 'boil' rather than simply 'cook'? Seeing as we have no apparent evidence of another verb for 'cook', why could it not be בָּשַׁל? It would certainly satisfy this particular problem. This reasoning, though, has not gone unchallenged, and the strongest rebuttal to it has come from Ehud Ben Zvi, who will be discussed in detail below.

The Septuagint, however, may add some weight to this בָּשַׁל = 'cook' argument. In both Exodus' prohibition against boiling and Deuteronomy's positive description of preparing the animal, the LXX has ἑψω, normally meaning 'boil'. In Chronicles, though, where the MT appears to harmonize or explain the two pentateuchal texts, the LXX reads ὀπτᾶω, normally understood as 'roast', thereby not harmonizing at all. We can, therefore, diagram the cooking terms, as typically rendered in English, from the MT and the LXX texts as follows:

for boiling at all. This suggests, perhaps, that they either prioritized the Exodus text over Deuteronomy, or they read בָּשַׁל in Deuteronomy 16:7 as 'roast'

39 Rashi *ad* Deuteronomy 16:7 and 2 Chronicles 35:13.

40 Jay F. Shachter, *The Commentary of Abraham Ibn Ezra on the Pentateuch*, vol. 5: Deuteronomy (Jersey City: KTAV Publishing House, 2003), 75.

41 For a representative set of examples, see S. R. Driver, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy*, The International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902), 193–194; J. G. McConville, *Law and Theology in Deuteronomy*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 33 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984), 117–118; Raymond B. Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, Word Biblical Commentary 15 (Waco: Word Books, 1987), 285; Judson Rayford Shaver, *Torah and the Chronicler's History Work: An Inquiry into the Chronicler's References to Laws, Festivals, and Cultic Institutions in Relationship to Pentateuchal Legislation*, Brown Judaic Studies 196 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 116; C.J. Labuschagne, *Deuteronomium deel II*, De prediking van het Oude Testament (Nijkerk: Callenbach, 1990), 98–99; Jeffrey H. Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, The JPS Torah Commentary (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1996), 155.

	MT	LXX
Ex. 12:9	Roast, do not Boil (in water)	Roast, do not Boil (in water)
Deut 16:7	Boil	Boil
2 Ch 35:13	Boil (in/with fire)	Roast (in fire)

One can posit that the translator of Chronicles likely had access not only to the Hebrew of Chronicles, but also the Greek and maybe even the Hebrew of the Pentateuch. If this translator saw that all three instances in Hebrew used בָּשַׁל but thought that one or more of them could easily be explained as meaning ‘roast’, then it seems perfectly reasonable to choose ὀπτᾶω rather than ἐψω for translating בָּשַׁל in this passage in 2 Chronicles 35. It would be even more sensible to do so if the Greek-speaking audience were unclear as to the supposedly more generic semantic value associated with בָּשַׁל, i.e. that the audience was unaware that בָּשַׁל could mean ‘cook’. Therefore, this translator felt no need to harmonize the pentateuchal prescriptions, but simply relied upon this flexibility of בָּשַׁל so as to avoid overstepping any authoritative traditions. That is, if the Hebrew author of Chronicles was indeed attempting to harmonize the readings from Exodus and Deuteronomy, the Septuagint translator did not follow suit, and chose, rather, to explain בָּשַׁל as ‘roast’, along the lines suggested by Rashi and the rest.

The flaw in this argument is that the LXX translator of Chronicles may have had the Greek text of Exodus and Deuteronomy, the former prescribing ὀπτᾶω, the latter using ἐψω. For this translator to use ὀπτᾶω as well could also be his endorsement of the Exodus text and disregard for that of Deuteronomy.

In neither case, however, does the LXX solve the problems of the MT and thus one is left looking elsewhere for answers, which brings us to the second argument toward solving this tri-textual puzzle.

Argument Two:

At the time when Deuteronomy was composed בָּשַׁל was connected to a generic verbal concept ‘cook’. Therefore, there was no contradiction between Deuteronomy and Exodus. However, by the time of the Chronicler, this generic sense was dropped in favour of the more specific ‘boil’. Therefore, the Chronicler, whether because he felt that there was a contradiction or because he simply wanted to avoid confusing his readers, harmonized the sources and used the awkward ‘boil in fire’ to do so.⁴²

42 There is another option, that בָּשַׁל was ‘boil’ in Deuteronomy, but came to be more generic by the time of the Chronicler. However, there is no strong voice for this point of view and

The main thinker here is Segal in his analysis of how the Passover was celebrated in ancient times.⁴³ For Segal, the Passover must always have been roasted. It was essential to the very nature of Passover. This is so for two reasons. First, roasting was the quickest and simplest way to cook the animal, and haste was obviously a high priority for the first Passover. Second, roasting an animal could be done without dissecting it first, which adheres to the instruction in verse 9 where the entire animal, including inner organs, is to be cooked.⁴⁴ Therefore, if roasting were essential, then Deuteronomy 16:7 would naturally also refer to roasting, via the proposed generic reading of *בשל*, that is, 'cook'. If 'boil' were meant, argues Segal, then the author would undoubtedly have used the phrase *בשל במים*. In Chronicles, however, there is a strange phrase, *בשל בִּצְאֵשׁ*, which Segal takes to signify that the generic 'cook' concept was no longer attached to *בשל*, while 'boil' remained.⁴⁵ The Chronicler, then, had to harmonize the texts, as described earlier, and came up with 'boil in fire' as a way to mean 'roast'.

While Segal's treatment is certainly interesting, it is not very compelling. His claims are not borne out by the text. Yes, haste was important to the first Passover, as described in Exodus, but how does that require that Deuteronomy 16:7, a prescription for future celebrations, also denotes roasting? It would be convenient, yes, but it is not necessary. Segal's second point, that roasting satisfies the need to cook the animal whole, likewise only applies to the Exodus text and not to Deuteronomy. Lastly, Segal suggests that true boiling would be described by *בשל במים*, but gives no evidence to support the claim. There are examples, such as Leviticus 6:21 where no liquid is mentioned at all, but the concept attached to *בשל* is nevertheless 'boil'. Therefore, there is very little compelling reason to require a 'roast' reading from Deuteronomy at all, and there is subsequently little reason to suggest that the semantics of *בשל* had changed between the composition of Deuteronomy and that of Chronicles.

Argument Three:

The lexeme *בשל* always represents the verbal concept 'boil'. Therefore, there is indeed a contradiction between the Exodus and Deuteronomy prescriptions for Passover. As a result, the Chronicler's actions may be attributed to one of

it falls apart more easily, because the inclusion of 'in fire' would appear to be unnecessarily strange.

43 J. B. Segal, *The Hebrew Passover, from the Earliest Times to A.D. 70*, London Oriental Series 12 (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 15, 205–206.

44 Ibid., 166–167.

45 Ibid., 205–206.

two things: he either simply chose to use בָּשַׁל 'boil' to describe the Passover, or he chose to harmonize the two traditions, albeit awkwardly, with suggesting that the Passover was 'boiled in fire', an otherwise unknown phrase.

Those who hold this argument, that בָּשַׁל always means 'boil', fall into the two separate groups outlined above. In the first group are those who hold that the Chronicler used בָּשַׁל and meant 'boil'—as simple as that.⁴⁶ This means that the Chronicler meant to say that Josiah's Passover was boiled, not roasted, which would be in direct contradiction to the prescription of Exodus. This would seem to jar with the normal understanding of כַּמִּשְׁפָּט here in 2 Chronicles 35:13, which most have taken to refer to Torah observance of one kind or another. Johnstone, however, holds that the כַּמִּשְׁפָּט here is not meant as a reference back to the traditional Passover as described in Exodus, but rather should be understood as 'according to custom', that is, according to the customary sacrificial practices, which entailed boiling the meat. That was, Johnstone claims, how most sacrifices were performed. It was the custom at the time.

The greater number of argument three proponents, however, are those who hold that, though בָּשַׁל means 'boil', the Chronicler was nonetheless constrained to represent both Exodus and Deuteronomy in his description of Josiah's Passover. To that end he conflated the two pentateuchal traditions, roasting and boiling, resulting in very odd, if not nonsensical, Hebrew. The Chronicler is said to bend over backwards to harmonize both Passover texts for his audience, and thus writes בָּשַׁל בָּאֵשׁ, 'boil in fire', but by that whole phrase means 'roast'. David Kimḥi was an early proponent of this type of argument, noting that, although Deuteronomy and Exodus are in contradiction, the Chronicler nevertheless uses בָּשַׁל in this one instance to mean 'roast' simply because 'in fire' is present. That is, the prepositional phrasing 'in fire' overrides the standard meaning of בָּשַׁל.⁴⁷ Many modern critical commentators have taken it a step further to argue not that בָּשַׁל itself here means 'roast' because of the syntax, but that it does not make much sense at all and is an awkward harmonization of the two pentateuchal traditions. In the end, 'roast' is meant by the entire

46 Two scholars who maintain this position are Herbert G. May, 'The Relation of the Passover to the Festival of Unleavened Cakes', *Journal of Biblical Literature* 55, no. 1 (1936): 79; and William Johnstone, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, vol. 2, *2 Chronicles 10–36: Guilt and Atonement*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 253–254 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 253.

47 Yitzhak Berger, *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimḥi to Chronicles: A Translation with Introduction and Supercommentary*, Brown Judaic Studies 345 (Providence: Brown University, 2007), 276.

unit, but the Chronicler's phrasing is considered absurd.⁴⁸ Tuell's description typifies the opinions of this group of scholars: 'While literally nonsensical, this curious statement enables the Chronicler to maintain his claim that Josiah's Passover was carried out in obedience to the whole Torah'.⁴⁹

There are both merits and drawbacks to this point of view. One significant drawback is that this view, as sometimes expressed, seems to assume that the Chronicler was a witless slave to tradition—that is, that he could not innovate. He merely mashed two traditions together into something that made no literal sense at all.

The most cogent response to such thinking has come from Ehud Ben Zvi. His analysis suggests that there is more sense to be made of the Chronicler's

48 For a representative set of proponents see Immanuel Benzinger, *Die Bücher der Chronik*, Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament. 20 (Tübingen; Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1901), 132; Kurt Galling, *Die Bücher der Chronik, Esra, Nehemia*, vol. 12, *Das Alte Testament deutsch* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1954), 179–180; Adrianus van den Born, *Kronieken*, De boeken van het Oude Testament (Roermond: Romen & Zonen, 1960), 232–233; Jacob Martin Myers, *II Chronicles*, The Anchor Bible 13 (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1965), 211; H. G. M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, New Century Bible Commentary (Grand Rapids; London: W. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co.; Marshall, Morgan & Scott Pub. Ltd, 1982), 407; Michael A. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 135–136; Joachim Becker, *2 Chronik*, Die neue Echter-Bible: Kommentar zum Alten Testament mit der Einheitsübersetzung 20 (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1988), 121; Nahum M. Sarna, *Exodus*, The JPS Torah Commentary (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1991), 245; Sara Japhet, *I & II Chronicles: A Commentary*, Old Testament Library (London: SCM Press, 1993), 1052–1053; Steven Shawn Tuell, *First and Second Chronicles*, Interpretation (Louisville: John Knox Press, 2001), 240; Steven L. McKenzie, *1–2 Chronicles*, Abingdon Old Testament Commentaries (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2004), 364; Ehud Ben Zvi, 'Revisiting "Boiling in Fire" in 2 Chronicles 35:13 and Related Passover Questions: Text, Exegetical Needs and Concerns, and General Implication', in *Biblical Interpretation in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. Isaac Kalimi and Peter J. Haas, Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 439 (New York: T & T Clark, 2006), esp. 240–241; Ronald E. Clements, ed., *Exodus*, Cambridge Bible Commentary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 72; Anthony Phillips, ed., *Deuteronomy*, The Cambridge Bible Commentary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 113. Both Clements and Phillips mention merely that there is a discrepancy between Exodus and Deuteronomy. They do not comment on 2 Chronicles, although their opinion would then imply that the Chronicler had to do some harmonizing. K. Roubos, *II Kronieken*, De prediking van het Oude Testament (Nijkerk: Callenbach, 1972), 297. Roubos interestingly suggests that there is indeed a contradiction between Exodus and Deuteronomy, though he also argues that the Hebrew בָּשַׁל has semantic flexibility enough to cover both 'bake' and 'boil' and cites 2 Samuel 13:8 as support.

49 Tuell, *First and Second Chronicles*, 240.

phrasing than is normally assumed. He contends that although *בָּשַׁל* and *בָּאֵשׁ* interact, it is not *בָּאֵשׁ* that overrides *בָּשַׁל*, thereby making it a very strange way of saying ‘roast’, but rather *בָּשַׁל* that influences the reading of *בָּאֵשׁ*. That is to say, *בָּשַׁל* for Ben Zvi, must always mean cooking in liquid, especially if it is followed by the formula *ב + x*. Therefore the Chronicler is actually conceiving of fire here as the liquid (x), or, at least, the fire takes on the properties of liquid in that an object is immersed in it and surrounded by it.⁵⁰

In order to arrive here, Ben Zvi, as well as the others from argument three, had to maintain that *בָּשַׁל* either cannot or simply does not here stand for a generic, or highly schematic, cooking verb. To such an end Ben Zvi’s argument is made in four points, summarized as follows:

1. All *clear* instances of *בָּשַׁל* entail boiling in liquid.
2. Deuteronomy’s command to boil the Passover is not odd, but fits in with its general trend to make the Passover less distinctive and more in line with the sacrificial system at the central cult.⁵¹
3. The two ways of cooking meat in ancient Israel included roasting and boiling. It would make sense for them both to be represented by distinct Hebrew lexemes.
4. The phrase *בָּשַׁל בָּאֵשׁ* in 2 Chronicles 35:13 is itself so odd, that it indicates that the Chronicler was attempting to explain *בָּשַׁל*, normally understood as cooking in liquid, in a new or unusual way.⁵²

Ben Zvi’s second argument takes us beyond the remit of this study, but the other three arguments can be addressed adequately here. As for the supposedly clear instances of *בָּשַׁל* mentioned in his first point, we can by now agree with Ben Zvi that there is an observable trend toward liquid cooking methods. It is true that not every case explicitly mentions liquid or a cooking vessel like a pot, but many of them do. Moreover, his third argument serves to buttress the first. As we observed in the backgrounds chapter, the cooking of meat was primarily done either by roasting or by boiling, whether the boiling was effected either in the form of stew or simply boiled meat. It would seem unreasonable, although not impossible, that there would be no specific Hebrew term for ‘boil’ when it was such a common practice in ancient Israelite culture.

⁵⁰ Ben Zvi, ‘Revisiting’, 244.

⁵¹ He cites as support the Deuteronomic addition of cattle to the Passover in 16:2.

⁵² Ben Zvi, ‘Revisiting’, 240–241.

This brings us to Ben Zvi's fourth argument—one that needs some adjusting. It may lead one to believe that the phrase **בשל** followed by **ב** + x exclusively entails some liquid or cooking vessel containing liquid as the value for x. But this is not the case. At times, x may refer to a location, such as the holy place, **מִקְדָּשׁ**, in Exodus 29:31.⁵³ At another point, x is the equipment for the oxen that Elisha presumably used as kindling for the fire that was to cook the meat, referred to in 1 Kings 19:21. If these options for understanding **בשל** followed by **ב** + x exist, then how can Ben Zvi be so confident that **בשל בַּאֵשׁ** in 2 Chronicles 35 must conceive of **אֵשׁ** as a liquid? It may be a stretch to suggest that the fire would be the location where the Passover animal was to be cooked, but it may be more reasonable to suggest that **אֵשׁ** is the means by which it was cooked. That is, 'they boiled it with/by means of fire'. On linguistic grounds, this appears equally, if not more, plausible than Ben Zvi's fire = liquid argument. While he may argue that the majority of **בשל** followed by **ב** + x occurrences have x as a liquid or liquid-holding vessel, he nevertheless leaps from this to assuming that the Chronicler was then held fast by such constraints. Ben Zvi assumes this constraint while at the same time assuming that the Chronicler meanwhile felt free to manipulate the concepts of cooking, namely that fire can be conceived of as a liquid. In essence, he asks his readers to assume linguistic syntagmatic rigidity on the one hand and semantic fluidity on the other.

It may seem at this point, that there is very little reason to side with Ben Zvi at all. His linguistic reasoning seems to jump about without inspiring a great deal of confidence. However, by way of vindication, one must bear in mind that any explanation of this odd passage is bound to contain some degree of speculation. In that regard, one must treat Ben Zvi with due fairness. But there is yet slightly firmer ground on which one can support his argument. While he never mentions Cognitive Linguistics, he does share some of its assumptions, and these assumptions are what end up providing plausibility for his suggestions. Stepping back a moment, Ben Zvi's third argument, that there ought to be separate and clear lexemes for the two most common ways for cooking meat in ancient Israel, assumes that one can connect a language to the world of its users. While the methodology may be different, Cognitive Linguistics would hold the same premise. Returning to the present discussion, Ben Zvi's analysis of **בשל** followed by **ב** + x is entirely structuralist, looking at syntagmatic distribution alone. On these grounds, as shown above, he cannot firmly stand.

53 X may also represent a location in Deuteronomy 16:7, though it is not clear whether **ב** + x must align with the verb **בשל** or with **אכל**.

In fact, as suggested, one could easily have translated the 2 Chronicles 35 text as ‘they boiled it with/by means of fire’. On structuralist linguistic assumptions, this is just as, if not more, valid than his suggestion of fire being the liquid in which the meat was immersed. With Cognitive Linguistics, where one can safely ask about the mind of the language user, we can inquire as to which of these would have seemed more reasonable to an ancient Hebrew speaker. Fire conceived as liquid would likely have seemed odd, but so also would it be odd, and moreover redundant, to say that they boiled meat with fire as the heat source, as per the ordinances. What other heat source could they have used? Why would any ordinances ensure that they used fire for cooking when they had no real other options? Therefore, both options are relatively odd and one must choose between them. What may tip the balance is the distributional data. Nine times in the Hebrew Bible the phrase **בשל** followed by **ב** + x occurs where x is a liquid or a liquid-containing vessel. Only two or possibly three times does x refer to something else. Therefore, while the evidence is not as solid as one might like, one can at least say that the linguistic analysis of the Hebrew for 2 Chronicles 35:13 points in favour of Ben Zvi’s rendering of fire being conceived of as a liquid and therefore that the Chronicler was indeed attempting to harmonize two seemingly divergent Passover prescriptions given in the Pentateuch. He used **בשל**, by which he meant ‘boil’ rather than ‘cook’ or ‘roast’, but the image conjured in the mind of his audience by means of the entire phrase would nevertheless have been of an animal being roasted whole. This ingenious move by the Chronicler explains Josiah’s Passover as adhering to the whole of Torah, and does so with the least linguistic gymnastics possible. His Hebrew was unusual, but perfectly comprehensible and there is no reason, on the basis of this passage, to propose a generic ‘cook’ concept for **בשל**.

5.1 *Textual Conclusions*

With the other texts, the conclusions made were mostly in the direction of illuminating elements of the text’s meaning. Here, however, the most significant insights are semantic. The problem here has less to do with general textual insights, and more to do with how one understands the lexeme **בשל**.

If 2 Chronicles 35:13 does not need a generic ‘cook’ concept for **בשל**, and if the Chronicler can be said, as above, to be harmonizing what he believed to be two divergent Passover prescriptions, then we can safely deduce that **בשל** in Deuteronomy 16:7 is likewise attached to a ‘boil’ concept, rather than a ‘cook’ one. Therefore, then, on the balance of evidence, both the occurrences of **בשל** in Deuteronomy 16:7 and 2 Chronicles 35:13 fall under the concept **בשל**-[CHANGE OF STATE], as laid out in the concepts chapter.

6 Text Six—Does Tamar have a Bun in the Oven? What Food Tells us about 2 Samuel 13

2 Samuel, among many things, is the story of King David and his household. The book begins with David's rise to power after the death of King Saul and his son Jonathan. First David becomes king of Judah at Hebron and, following conflict with the house of Saul, becomes king over all Israel and sets up his house in Jerusalem. Initially, David is described as a good king who follows YHWH with his whole heart, but chapter 11 is where the narrative takes a drastic turn. David takes Bathsheba, the wife of one of his soldiers, sleeps with her, and impregnates her. To avoid any unseemliness, David encourages Bathsheba's husband Uriah to sleep with her, but in good faith he refuses. Therefore, David conspires to have Uriah killed and subsequently takes Bathsheba as his own. At this point, David has lost his integrity and his moral standing that he had so firmly held. In the chapters that follow, his house begins to crumble before his very eyes and in chapter 13 we see that the once powerful ruler and subduer of enemies is impotent in the affairs of his own family:

וַיְהִי אַחֲרֵי־כֵן וּלְאַבְשָׁלוֹם בֶּן־דָּוִד אָחוֹת יָפָה וְשֵׁמָּה תָמָר וַיֵּאֱהָבָהּ אֲמֹנּוֹן בֶּן־דָּוִד׃¹ וַיִּצְרֹר לְאַמְנוֹן לְהַתְחַלּוֹת בַּעֲבוּר תָּמָר אָחוֹתוֹ כִּי בְתוּלָה הִיא וַיִּפְלֹא בְעֵינָי אֲמֹנּוֹן לַעֲשׂוֹת לָהּ מְאוּמָּה׃² וַיִּלְאַמְנוּ רָע וְשִׂמּוּ יוֹנָדָב בֶּן־שִׁמְעָה אָחִי דָּוִד וַיּוֹנָדָב אִישׁ חָכָם מְאֹד׃³ וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ מִדּוּעַ אַתָּה כָּכָה דָּל בֶּן־הַמֶּלֶךְ בְּבִקְרָה בְּבִקְרָה הֲלוֹא תִגִּיד לִי וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ אֲמֹנּוֹן אֶת־תָּמָר אָחוֹת אֲבִישָׁלָם אָחִי אֲנִי אֹהֵב׃⁴ וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ יְהוֹנָדָב שָׁכֵב עַל־מִשְׁכַּבְּךָ וְהִתְחַל וּבֹא אָבִיךָ לְרֹאוֹתֶךָ וְאִמְרָתְךָ אֵלָיו תִּבְאֵן נָא תָמָר אָחוֹתִי וְתִבְרַנִּי לֶחֶם וְעָשְׂתָה לְעֵינַי אֶת־הַבְּרִיָּה לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר אֶרְאֶה וְאֶכְלֵתִי מִיָּדָה׃⁵ וַיִּשְׁכַּב אֲמֹנּוֹן וַיִּתְחַל וַיָּבֹא הַמֶּלֶךְ לְרֹאוֹתוֹ וַיֹּאמֶר אֲמֹנּוֹן אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ תִּבּוֹא־נָא תָמָר אָחוֹתִי וְתִלָּבֵב לְעֵינַי שְׁתֵּי לִבְבוֹת וְאִבְרָה מִיָּדָה׃⁶ וַיִּשְׁלַח דָּוִד אֶל־תָּמָר הַבִּיתָה לֵאמֹר לָכִי נָא בֵּית אֲמֹנּוֹן אָחִיךָ וְעָשִׂי־לוֹ הַבְּרִיָּה׃⁷ וַתֵּלֶךְ תָּמָר בֵּית אֲמֹנּוֹן אָחִיהָ וְהוּא שָׁכֵב וַתִּקַּח אֶת־הַבָּצֵק [כ= וְתִלּוּשׁ] [ק= וְתִלָּשׁ] וְתִלָּבֵב לְעֵינָיו וְתִבְשֹׁל אֶת־הַלִּבְבוֹת׃⁸ וַתִּקַּח אֶת־הַמִּשְׁרֵת וַתַּצֵּק לִפְנֵי וַיִּמָּאֵן לֵאכּוֹל וַיֹּאמֶר אֲמֹנּוֹן הֲזִיאָו כָּל־אִישׁ מִעָלַי וַיִּצְאוּ כָּל־אִישׁ מִעָלָיו׃⁹ וַיֹּאמֶר אֲמֹנּוֹן אֶל־תָּמָר הִבִּיאִי הַבְּרִיָּה הַחֲדָר וְאִבְרָה מִיָּדָה וַתִּקַּח תָּמָר אֶת־הַלִּבְבוֹת אֲשֶׁר עָשְׂתָה וְתִבְאֵן לְאַמְנוֹן אָחִיהָ הַחֲדָרָה׃¹⁰ וַתִּגַּשׁ אֵלָיו לֵאכּוֹל וַיַּחֲקִיבָהּ וַיֹּאמֶר לָהּ בּוֹאִי שְׁכְבִי עִמִּי אָחוֹתִי׃¹¹ וַתֹּאמֶר לוֹ אֶל־אָחִי אֶל־תַּעֲנֵנִי כִּי לֹא־יַעֲשֶׂה כֵן בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־תַּעֲשֶׂה אֶת־הַנְּבִלָה הַזֹּאת׃¹² וַאֲנִי אֲנִי אוֹלִיךָ אֶת־חַרְפְּתִי וְאַתָּה תִּהְיֶה כְּאֶחָד הַנְּבִלִים בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל וְעַתָּה דַּבֵּר־נָא אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ כִּי לֹא יִמְנַעֲנִי מִמֶּנִּי׃¹³ וְלֹא אָבָה לְשִׁמְעָה בְּקוֹלָהּ וַיַּחֲזֵק מִמֶּנָּה וַיַּעֲנֶה וַיִּשְׁכַּב אִתָּהּ׃

¹ Some time passed. David's son Absalom had a beautiful sister whose name was Tamar; and David's son Amnon fell in love with her. ² Amnon was so tormented that he made himself ill because of his sister Tamar,

for she was a virgin and it seemed impossible to Amnon to do anything to her.³ But Amnon had a friend whose name was Jonadab, the son of David's brother Shimeah; and Jonadab was a very crafty man.⁴ He said to him, 'O son of the king, why are you so haggard morning after morning? Will you not tell me?' Amnon said to him, 'I love Tamar, my brother Absalom's sister'.⁵ Jonadab said to him, 'Lie down on your bed, and pretend to be ill; and when your father comes to see you, say to him, "Let my sister Tamar come and give me something to eat, and prepare the food in my sight, so that I may see it and eat it from her hand"'.⁶ So Amnon lay down, and pretended to be ill; and when the king came to see him, Amnon said to the king, 'Please let my sister Tamar come and make a couple of cakes in my sight, so that I may eat from her hand'.⁷ Then David sent home to Tamar, saying, 'Go to your brother Amnon's house, and prepare food for him'.⁸ So Tamar went to her brother Amnon's house, where he was lying down. She took dough, kneaded it, made cakes in his sight, and baked [boiled] the cakes.⁹ Then she took the pan and set them out before him, but he refused to eat. Amnon said, 'Send out everyone from me'. So everyone went out from him.¹⁰ Then Amnon said to Tamar, 'Bring the food into the chamber, so that I may eat from your hand'. So Tamar took the cakes she had made, and brought them into the chamber to Amnon her brother.¹¹ But when she brought them near him to eat, he took hold of her, and said to her, 'Come, lie with me, my sister'.¹² She answered him, 'No, my brother, do not force me; for such a thing is not done in Israel; do not do anything so vile!'¹³ As for me, where could I carry my shame? And as for you, you would be as one of the scoundrels in Israel. Now therefore, I beg you, speak to the king; for he will not withhold me from you'.

A considerable amount of scholarly attention has been given to this text in the past. It is famous, no doubt, because it is obscene, atrocious, and the reader is confronted with the depth of human depravity. Secondarily, its fame is due also to how it figures in the succession narrative, telling the story of those who attempt to, and the one who ultimately will ascend to the throne of King David. These are the two most common approaches to the text—what does it tell us of the vile nature of humanity, or perhaps simply of men in a patriarchal society; or, how does it legitimate the rise of Solomon to the Davidic throne?

The focus of the present study, however, differs considerably from those above. Instead of the spotlight being on the heinous act or the vying for supremacy, it will instead here be directed at cooking and its role in the narrative. For, there is a great deal of cooking vocabulary employed in this text and any reasonable exegesis must account for it, though many commentators

unfortunately brush past it. At the heart of the study is the lexeme *בשל*. As with the Passover legislation, the meaning attached to *בשל* in this passage is not altogether clear. Is the concept supposed to be related to 'boil', 'bake', simply 'cook', or something else? There are, however, several intertwining features of the passage that render this task difficult. What meaning is attached to the nouns *בִּרְיָה*, and *לִבְבוֹת*, or the verb *לִבֵּב*? That is, what does it mean to *בשל לִבְבוֹת* (v. 8)? Is it equivalent to *עָשָׂה בִּרְיָה* (v. 5, 7)? That these phrases would or would not be equivalent is tied up with yet another narrative knot—that of repetition.

Four times between verse 3 and 8 we have one cooking event described. First, we have the plan hatched by Jonadab and explained to Amnon, whereby he is to make himself sick and request that his father David send Tamar to his home to make him food. Then Amnon puts that plan into action and asks David to send Tamar to make him food. David responds to the request and sends Tamar to make Amnon his food. Then finally the narrator describes Tamar making the food for her half-brother Amnon. Each of these instances uses a slightly varied formula, differentiated by various food and cooking terms. Any repetition in the Hebrew Bible is noteworthy for its narrative value, but surely a fourfold repetition is remarkable. As is well known, scholars of the past, and some of the present, disdain repetition and treat it perhaps as evidence of divergent sources, sloppy writing/editing, or simply the ancient Israelite's inexplicable penchant for repetition. Others have attributed this repetition to the nature of oral storytelling, as it increases the hearer's ability to follow the story. Robert Alter, however, famously suggested that there might be more to the repetition than that:

If the requirements of oral delivery and a time-honored tradition of storytelling may have prescribed a mode of narration in which frequent verbatim repetition was expected, the authors of the biblical narratives astutely discovered how the slightest strategic variations in the pattern of repetitions could serve the purposes of commentary, analysis, foreshadowing, thematic assertion, with wonderful combination of subtle understatement and dramatic force.⁵⁴

That is to say, a perceptive audience would pick up on the slight changes present in the different repetitions of a part of the story. What purpose does the fourfold repetition serve in 2 Samuel 13? Why are there variations in the four versions? Could the variations be, as Conroy suggests, simply a way to avoid

54 Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic Books, 1981), 91.

monotony?⁵⁵ Mary Anna Bader is perhaps more insightful when she suggests that, whereas Jonadab and Amnon's original conversation might be more explicit, Amnon's actual request to David sounds somewhat more innocent and less voyeuristic.⁵⁶ Amnon's request, nevertheless, is for Tamar to make special cakes and to do so in his sight, but all David says to Tamar is to go to Amnon's house and make him food. Bader suggests that David's rendering of the event places Amnon and Tamar at a greater distance from one another, as if David were unaware that physical closeness was the real intention rather than the food.⁵⁷ While these are important insights for understanding the import of the passage as a whole, they still do not adequately address the repetition of the cooking scenarios and the variations among them. These, too, are important, not least because the author saw fit to include so much cooking detail to begin with, but also because it helps us to answer related exegetical problems. If, for instance, the narrator describes Amnon's actions as being different than what Jonadab prescribed, can Jonadab be held to account for what Amnon ultimately did? Is the wise companion Jonadab really guilty?

The majority of commentators hold Jonadab to blame, if not for the whole thing, then at least for getting it all going. Hertzberg succinctly stated 'Den Stein ins Rollen bringt Jonadab'.⁵⁸ When these commentators lambaste the friend and cousin of Amnon, they assume that he had full knowledge of what Amnon was going to do.⁵⁹ After all, he was introduced as a wise (often

55 Charles Conroy, *Absalom, Absalom!: Narrative and Language in 2 Sam 13–20*, *Analecta Biblica* 81 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978), 39.

56 Mary Anna Bader, *Sexual Violation in the Hebrew Bible: A Multi-Methodological Study of Genesis 34 and 2 Samuel 13*, *Studies in Biblical Literature* 87 (New York: Peter Lang, 2006), 139.

57 Ibid., 142.

58 Hans Wilhelm Hertzberg, *Die Samuelbücher*, *Das Alte Testament Deutsch* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960), 265.

59 Perhaps the strongest words come from Ketter: 'Sein Rat zeugt von einer ausgesuchten Schlaueit, von teuflischer Verlogenheit und Verkommenheit. Kein Mittel ist diesem Menschen zu schlecht. Frauenehre kommt bei ihm überhaupt nicht in Betracht'. Peter Ketter, *Die Samuelbücher*, vol. 3,1, *Herders Bibelkommentar* (Freiburg: Herder, 1940), 248; More moderate statements, but nevertheless damning, come from Alfons Schulz, *Die Bücher Samuel*, vol. 2, *Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament* 8 (Münster in Westf.: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1920), 147; Conroy, *Absalom, Absalom!*, 25; J. P. Fokkelman, *Narrative Art and Poetry in the Books of Samuel: A Full Interpretation Based on Stylistic and Structural Analyses*, vol. 1 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1981), 104; P. Kyle McCarter, ed., *II Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes, and Commentary*, *The Anchor Bible* 9 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1984), 321; Gordon, *1 & 2 Samuel*, 262; Bader, *Sexual Violation*, 143.

translated ‘cunning’ or ‘crafty’) man. How could he not know what was about to happen?

But the problem lies with the fact that Jonadab never mentioned anything past Tamar coming and making food for Amnon. Nevertheless, Conroy argues, ‘Jonadab does not give the conclusion of his advice (v. 5) which would amount to this—‘and then you can do to her as you please’; a shrewd man does not need to spell out obvious conclusions’.⁶⁰ Other commentators see no problem with the incongruity of description between Jonadab’s advice and Amnon’s actions. They argue that Amnon acted on Jonadab’s advice, and followed it unscrupulously.⁶¹ A closer look is required.

Jonadab:

וַאֲמַרְתָּ אֵלָיו תְּבֹא נָא תָמָר אָחוֹתִי וְתִבְרְנִי לֶחֶם וְעִשְׂתָּהּ לְעֵינֵי אֶת־הַבְּרִיָּה לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר
אֶרְאֶה וְאֶכְלֶתִּי מִיָּדָה

Amnon:

תְּבֹא־נָא תָמָר אָחוֹתִי וְתִלְבֹּב לְעֵינֵי שְׁתֵּי לְבָבוֹת וְאֶבְרָה מִיָּדָה

David:

לְכִי נָא בֵּית אֲמֹנֹן אַחִיד וְעֲשִׂי־לוֹ הַבְּרִיָּה

Narrator/Tamar:

וְתִלְדָּ תָמָר בֵּית אֲמֹנֹן אָחִיהָ וְהוּא שָׁכַב וְתִקַּח אֶת־הַבָּצֵק [כ = וְתִלוּשׁ] [ק = וְתִלְשׁ]
וְתִלְבֹּב לְעֵינָיו וְתִבְשֹׁל אֶת־הַלֶּבְבוֹת: וְתִקַּח אֶת־הַמִּשְׁרֵת וְתַצֵּק לִפְנֵיו

60 Conroy, *Absalom, Absalom!*, 25.

61 Ketter, *Herders Bibelkommentar*; Bd. 3,1, 3,1:248; C. J. Goslinga, *Het tweede boek Samuël* (Kampen: Kok, 1962), 235; George Ridout, ‘The Rape of Tamar: A Rhetorical Analysis of 2 Sam 13:1–22’, in *Rhetorical Criticism: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg*, ed. Jared Judd Jackson and Martin Kessler, Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series 1 (Pittsburgh: Pickwick Press, 1974), 79; Conroy, *Absalom, Absalom!*, 18; André Caquot and Philippe de Robert, *Les livres de Samuel*, Commentaire de l’Ancien Testament 6 (Genève: Labor et Fides, 1994), 497; Shimeon Bar-Efrat, *Das zweite Buch Samuel: ein narratologisch-philologischer Kommentar*, Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament 181 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2009), 128.

Clearly, the language changes each time this event is told or recorded. However, there are also two obvious pairings: Jonadab and David, Amnon and Narrator/Tamar. Do the two pairings, albeit with different wording, intend the same thing as each other? As asked earlier, is עֲשֵׂה בָרִיָּה more generic a description than בָּשַׁל לִבְבוֹת, or than simply לִבֵּב?

The structure of the narrative itself provides a partial clue to the puzzle. If Amnon asks David to have Tamar make לִבְבוֹת and if that is what Amnon ultimately receives, then it appears as though either Tamar understood David's command to עֲשֵׂה בָרִיָּה as tantamount to making לִבְבוֹת, or she did not do as David commanded.⁶² Therefore, it is probable that the latter vocabulary entails the former.

A further clue comes from the archaeological evidence. As noted in the chapter on backgrounds, the living quarters in a house, even in wealthy homes, was typically on the upper storey.⁶³ The ground floor was where daily chores would be performed. This included animal care, grinding grain, textiles, as well as baking with an oven.⁶⁴ The upper storey, though it would not have held a proper oven, could and probably did accommodate small cooking installations such as a hearth, on which one could use pots and other cookware.⁶⁵

Knowing this arrangement of cooking installations—ovens downstairs in common/work space and hearths upstairs in the living space—allows us to return to the repetition in 2 Samuel 13. Both Jonadab and Amnon render the event, despite exhibiting a difference in cooking terminology, to suggest cooking within sight of Amnon's bed, which is precisely what he gets. If Tamar is supposed to be within sight of Amnon's bed, then she is more than likely on the upper floor, where Amnon's bed would be. If that is the case, then there is most likely no proper oven present with which to work, and therefore she would not be making ordinary bread. However, we know that the food that Tamar makes is indeed a bread-type product, because she takes dough and kneads it. Without an oven at her disposal the options are more restricted: perhaps she

62 The latter appears unlikely, given that there is not much reason for Tamar to disobey David or to do other than he commanded. One could argue that this change is a sign of distance between the two of them. That is, it might fit in connection to the oft noted reference to Tamar at the beginning of the chapter not as a relative of David, as with Amnon, Absalom, and even Jonadab, but merely as Absalom's sister. Or, instead, perhaps Tamar goes to Amnon's home in order to do what her father David commanded, but is otherwise persuaded to make לִבְבוֹת. But neither of these is very convincing.

63 It is precisely this point that Shafer-Elliott has not noticed, which has led her to different conclusions about this pericope. See Shafer-Elliott, *Food in Ancient Judah*, 168ff.

64 Holladay, 'House, Israelite', 309.

65 Meyers, 'Field Crops', 72.

could make flat bread stretched across a hearth, or she could make something otherwise unattested, such as dumplings. I will return to the exact nature of the food product below. For now, suffice it to say that we have two features of the story that suggest that the various cooking scenarios described in this text need not contradict one another: Tamar does what Amnon asks, despite the intermediary (David) using different language, and both Jonadab and Amnon mention that Tamar would cook the bread product in Amnon's sight, thereby restricting the cooking possibilities to a point where it would only seem reasonable for them to refer to the same cooking procedure. The language may be different, and that may signify something on the narrative level, but the activities described appear themselves to be compatible.

Why, then, would the narrator vary the telling of the event if all versions described the same event? First, it is important to know that David and Jonadab use similar cooking language to one another, עָשָׂה בִּרְיָה, although David's version does not mention making the food in Amnon's sight nor Amnon eating from Tamar's hand. Amnon, though he, like Jonadab, mentions his sight and eating from her hand, requests that Tamar לִבְבוֹת. As hinted at earlier, perhaps the phrasing of Jonadab and David is more generic than that of Amnon, even if both may entail the same event. There is, however, very little evidence concerning the lexeme בִּרְיָה on its own. It occurs only in this passage, and therefore most scholars look to the related verbal lexeme, בָּרָה, for clearer answers. This verb, both in Hebrew as well as in several cognate languages, appears to be used in relation to health and healing, particularly with respect to consuming food that brings strength.⁶⁶ It does not appear to specify a specific food product, but merely that which will restore health to an unwell person. In this case, then, Amnon appears to follow Jonadab's advice, except that he specifies which particular food he would like—לִבְבוֹת.

The narrator in 2 Samuel 13, therefore, places Jonadab and especially David at a distance from the specific cooking scenario that Amnon has in mind. Neither Jonadab nor David goes as far as Amnon in his detail of the event. Clearly David had no idea what Amnon was ultimately going to do. Did

66 Perhaps the best root and cognate information is found in Koehler et al., *HALOT*, 154b–155a; Herein they note a connection between בִּרְיָה and the Lihyanic *bara'at* 'recovery' as suggested by Werner Caskel, *Lihyan und Lihyanisch*, Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen/Geisteswissenschaften 4 (Köln: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1954), 132; They also point out a connection between the verbal lexeme בָּרָה and the Old South Arabian *bry* 'health, freedom' as explained by Walter W. Müller, 'Die Wurzeln mediae und tertiae y/w im Altsüdarabischen: eine etymologische und lexikographische Studie' (Doktorgrad, Eberhard-Karls-Universität zu Tübingen, 1963), 29.

Jonadab know? His advice stopped at having Tamar cook in Amnon's home where he could see her. Amnon went further than Jonadab's advice described, both in the language of his request for Tamar to come to him and in what he eventually did to her.

But the road to Jonadab's exoneration is not so simple. The problem remains that the narrator introduced Jonadab as being חָכָם מְאֹד. How could one so wise, or crafty, not know to what end his advice would come? This question itself is treated as rhetorical by many commentators. Jonadab's 'wisdom' condemns him from the outset. If he was wise, then he must have known what would happen. But what often gets overlooked is the end of the tale—Absalom taking revenge and murdering Amnon.⁶⁷ If we take this into account, then it appears as though we are left with two options. One is that Jonadab is actually very wise, and therefore must be able to foresee the rape as well as the retribution. He is therefore not a true friend of Amnon, but conspired against him from the beginning. The second option is that the narrator sets Jonadab up, not as a knowing conspirator of rape, but as an example of how wisdom, as with everything else in this royal family, does not function as it should. In the same way that David, the chosen King, is made the fool, so also Jonadab, the wise counsellor, has his wisdom rebuffed by the depravity of the royal family. Jonadab stands not with Amnon in his guilt, but with David in his. The pairing of their cooking language bears this out, as well as the interesting note in verses 32 and 33 of the same chapter: David hears a report that Absalom has killed all the king's sons, but it is Jonadab who is standing with David and who tells him that only Amnon has been killed, on account of his raping Tamar, Absalom's full sister. The two, David and Jonadab, stand together in their guilt and their folly.

So far we have addressed the nature of repetition in this passage, Jonadab's role and responsibility, and the basic meaning associated with בָּרִיָּה. What still remains is to consider the meaning associated with the lexemes לבב, לִבְבָּהּ/לִבְבוֹת, and בשל. As was made clear in the chapter concerning lexemes and concepts, the verb לבב, within the cognitive domain of cooking, relates simply to creating לִבְבָּהּ, whatever that happens to mean. As mentioned, לִבְבָּהּ naturally is connected to the lexeme לֵב/לֵבָב, having to do with one's heart or mind. In the lexemes chapter I suggested that this connection, despite what many commentators have simply asserted, does not suggest that the food לִבְבָּהּ is to be in the shape of a heart.⁶⁸ Rather, it is more likely that the connection

67 Bar-Efrat, *Das zweite Buch Samuel*, 127.

68 Some commentators suggest that they might be heart-shaped cakes, or dumplings, or something else. Caquot and Robert suggest 'crêpes'. Caquot and Robert, *Les livres de Samuel*, 497. Most, though, do not commit themselves to any particular view because

is to 'enheartening' food, that is, to food that restores heart and health to the one eating it. This aligns well with the content of this text in 2 Samuel 13, where health and sickness play a key role. If Amnon's suggestion of making לִבְבוֹת entails making בִּרְיָה, then it would appear obvious that לִבְבָּהּ is seen as some type of health food.⁶⁹ What it is, exactly, relies on our understanding of בָּשָׁל.

בָּשָׁל, as we have seen, usually relates to some kind of liquid heating procedure. This, however, has not stopped many from suggesting, as with the Passover problems, that it can simply convey something like 'cook', 'bake', or 'roast'. I have shown above that none of these seems adequate for the Passover legislation in either Deuteronomy or 2 Chronicles. It is my contention, furthermore, that 2 Samuel 13 follows suit, and here also relates to boiling.⁷⁰ Tamar, it is said, is cooking before Amnon's eyes. I have shown that this most likely implies that Tamar is cooking on the upper floor where Amnon's bed would

the evidence is scant. There are some, however, who nevertheless assume that the connection to 'heart' is one of shape. See, for instance, P. Paul Dhorme, *Les livres de Samuel*, Études bibliques (Paris: Victor Lecoffre, 1910), 365–366; Schulz, *Die Bücher Samuel*; Bd. 2, 2:148; Born, *Kronieken*, 176; Conroy, *Absalom, Absalom!*, 29 n.3; Georg Hentschel, *2 Samuel*, Die neue Echter-Bible: Kommentar zum Alten Testament mit der Einheitsübersetzung 34 (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1994), 55.

69 There are some who argue that this is to be understood simply as 'desired food', i.e. that which the heart longs for. Ketter, *Herders Bibelkommentar*; Bd. 3,1, 3,1:248; Hertzberg, *Die Samuelbücher*, 265; Karl Gutbrod, *Das Buch vom Reich: das zweite Buch Samuel*, 2nd ed., Die Botschaft des Alten Testaments 11, 2 (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1973), 160 n.3; Bar-Efrat, *Das zweite Buch Samuel*, 128. This view, however, is insufficient, particularly given the connection to health here in this passage and the connection to the lexeme בִּרְיָה, discussed above. Dhorme, *Les livres de Samuel*, 365–366. Many others have also noted a possible connection to the verb לָבַב used erotically in Song of Songs. These commentators suggest at least some erotic overtones in this passage, ones that David clearly does not notice. This is certainly a valid observation and ought to be taken into account for any thorough exegesis of the passage. Cf. Fokkelman, *Narrative Art and Poetry*, 1:105–106; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 314; Hentschel, *2 Samuel*, 55; For a completely contrary view, that there is no connection to heart, or love whatsoever, see Henry Preserved Smith, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Samuel*, The International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1899), 327.

70 Again, there have been detractors, in this case those who argue for 'bake'. See, for example, Smith, *Samuel*, 328; Dhorme, *Les livres de Samuel*, 366; Goslinga, *II Samuël*, 236; Others simply say that we are not given enough detail and therefore cannot say with certainty what is happening here. See Hertzberg, *Die Samuelbücher*, 265; Gutbrod, *Das Buch vom Reich*, 160 n.3; See also Peter R. Ackroyd, ed., *The Second Book of Samuel*, The Cambridge Bible Commentary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 121. Ackroyd here enigmatically states that 'we should not assume that what is meant corresponds closely to our modern ideas'

have been. This would mean, according to extant archaeological evidence, that Tamar was likely working, not with an oven, but with a smaller cooking installation like a hearth. Therefore, normal baking practices would have been out of the question. Roasting would also be nonsensical, given that this is a bread-type product being made. That the verb *בשל* would here refer simply to ‘cooking’ is unlikely because *בשל* is one of three verbs used to describe the cooking of the *לֶבְבוֹת*. That is, in addition to *בשל* we have a generic cooking/preparation verb *עשה* used in verse 10 and we see the standard verb for preparing *לֶבְבוֹת* in the lexeme *לבב* in verses 6 and 8. Why posit another generic cooking verb, when *בשל* must signify something different than these other two, even were that difference minor, especially when there is also a perfectly adequate explanation for using *בשל* as relating to ‘boil’?

Further evidence for reading *בשל* as ‘boil’ here is that the concept must be able to accommodate cooking with a hearth. We know, as demonstrated in the backgrounds chapter, that boiling in a vessel may easily be done over a fire on a hearth. The boiling that we know of is usually boiling meat, but there is no reason that it could not also include bread-type items. Furthermore, in verse 9 we find Tamar taking the dish in which she cooked the food and pouring out its contents before Amnon (*וַתִּקַּח אֶת-הַמִּשְׁרֵת וַתַּצֵּק לִפְנֵיו*). What the *מִשְׁרֵת* refers to is not entirely clear, but it is indeed some kind of dish.⁷¹ We can therefore confidently assert that the *לֶבְבוֹת* in 2 Samuel 13 are immersed in some kind of hot or boiling liquid before serving. If that is the case, then we can safely place this instance of *בשל* as referring to the concept *בשל*-[CHANGE OF STATE]. And finally, given that the item is in fact boiled or deep-fried, we can conclude that *לֶבְבָה* is some kind of boiled or fried dough, such as a doughnut, fritter, or dumpling.⁷²

71 Though his method has long since been questioned, Kelso’s observations are still interesting for the present discussion. He says, ‘The *mašrēt* of 11 Sam. 13: 9 appears to be a cooking-pot used for deep-fat frying. Some variety of cake (*ḥvāh*) was being made by boiling (*bāšal*). Now *bāšal* may mean to bake, but the context here rules out an oven; and if *bāšal* here means ‘to fry on a griddle’ then this is the only such usage of the word. Thus in this passage we must interpret cake (*ḥvāh*) as something like our doughnut, and made in deep-fat frying. Since Tamar was of royal blood, the *mašrēt* was more likely a metal one. The common home, however, would have to be satisfied with a ceramic one’. James Leon Kelso, *The Ceramic Vocabulary of the Old Testament*, Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research Supplement Studies 5/6 (New Haven, CT: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1948), para. 58.

72 One might expect that, if *לֶבְבָה* were a food meant to restore health, that there may also be other ingredients mixed into the dough, such as dried fruit, but we have no evidence of such a thing and thus it remains conjecture.

6.1 *Textual Conclusions*

2 Samuel 13 has a variety of textual intricacies that tend to evade our precise analysis. There is a great deal of repetition, of the command/request and execution type. But in none of these repetitions do we have any exact parallels. Interestingly, Jonadab and David use similar language to one another and we have here concluded that this subtly asks the reader to see these two characters together, separate to a degree from Amnon. That is not to say that they are innocent of what happens, but only that their guilt is of a different kind than Amnon's. Their guilt is folly and powerlessness. Amnon, however, takes matters into his own hands and is of course guilty of the worst crime. The food he requests is *לֶבְבוֹת*, which turns out to be some kind of boiled or deep-fried bread item, such as a dumpling or a fritter, and this was likely used to return a person to health. But in this tale the connection between the food and the man's desires for his half-sister is too strong to dismiss. Finally, we have three cooking verbs here, *לבב*, *בשל*, and *עשה*, each being used to a different degree of specificity or abstraction, that is, schematicity. *לבב* is the most specific, entailing simply the making of *לֶבְבוֹת*. *בשל* is more abstract and entails the cooking process, which takes place in heated liquid. *עשה*, as expected, is maximally generic, simply referring to the preparation of food, and does not specify the means by which this is accomplished.

7 Chapter Conclusions

In this chapter we have illustrated how a greater understanding of food in ancient Palestine and the vocabulary used to describe it can have a demonstrable impact on how we read biblical texts. In some cases, such as with Abraham and Sarah with their visitors, we merely get a closer look at what is described. This is no simple meal, but is a great feast that required a great deal of time to prepare. Likewise, Gideon's meal for his visitor consisted of an extraordinary quantity of bread, especially at a time when Midianites were pillaging the land. We moved from these more straightforward texts to the more difficult, such as the Passover texts and the Amnon and Tamar narrative. Here we sided with Ben Zvi, in that 2 Chronicles was indeed harmonizing Passover legislation from the Pentateuch, but was doing so in a rather ingenious way, 'boiling in fire', rather than as an uncreative slave to tradition. Finally, we determined that Jonadab's guilt was of a different sort than Amnon's, and that Tamar was boiling or deep-frying a kind of pastry on the upper storey of her half-brother's house.

With regard to the lexemes themselves, we have broadened our understanding of baking and boiling, given that *אפה* and *בשל* can stand in at times for their

more specific counterparts. We have also, and perhaps most significantly, concluded that the lexeme **בשל** is not a generic cooking verb, despite the claims of Rashi and many others, but that it necessarily entails cooking in liquid or cooking a liquid food item such as a stew. These were the types of conclusions at which the monograph has been aimed, but the insights as to the meaning of the biblical texts have come as an added bonus, something which connects this study to the wider field of biblical scholarship.

Conclusion

What is the value of this work? What has been gained by setting out on this path, weaving through such disparate fields of research? At the beginning, our vision was of paths heading in different directions—biblical studies, linguistics, and the ancient world. Have these converged over the horizon as we hoped they would?

In the first chapter we were concerned to present the state of research as it stood. It appeared, on the surface, that lexical semantics in biblical studies was nearly sundered from the lexical semantics coming out of modern linguistics. Though Saussure's structuralism had taken hold in the early decades of the twentieth century, it took James Barr in the 1960s and following to pull biblical lexical studies up to this standard. His method was rigorous and his critique scathing. Those who thought to equate concepts with lexemes, exhibited in some of Kittel's theological dictionary, were not to be tolerated. It was nonsense, and methodologically improper. Meaning in a language was to be drawn from distributional information, syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations. And thus the study of semantic fields took root in biblical studies, and continues with strength today. At the same time, works like the *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* took the syntagmatic relations very seriously, documenting for every entry all subjects, objects, prepositions and the like that happen to co-occur with the target word. The exhaustive nature of these entries was helpful in many places, and perhaps excessive in others, but it was intended to adhere to strict principles of modern linguistics. It was meant as an improvement on the outdated dependence on etymology and cognate information exhibited in the majority of other Hebrew lexical works.

But as we saw, announcing this triumph of linguistics in biblical studies was perhaps too premature. For, before Clines ever undertook to write his dictionary, modern linguistics began heading in a very different direction. Already in the 1970s there were the first signs that a change was coming. Langacker and others began to feel that distributional data did not suffice to account for meaning in language. Meaning must be in the mind. Even Saussure had noted this. But, if meaning were in the mind, how does one explain it? This was the beginning of the Cognitive Linguistics movement. Of course, distributional data could point us in certain helpful directions, but that was the sum of it. It did not stand for meaning on its own. Therefore, over the following several decades more and more theories of meaning came onto the linguistic scene, even until the present day. But one theory, beginning at the margins and now moving ever toward the centre is Langacker's Cognitive Grammar, at the same

time very complex, accounting for language as a whole, and deceptively simple, based on only a few key principles. One of these principles is that meaning must be construed against a background, as in the Gestalt theory of figure and ground. It is, then, only a matter of explaining how the human mind maps meaning with figure and grounding. For Langacker, this consisted of multiple layers. The broadest of these layers was encyclopaedic knowledge, the knowledge that a language user has about the world in general. It is vast and cannot be succinctly summarized. It is, simply, the general body of knowledge that a language community can be assumed to share about their world. Narrower than the encyclopaedic knowledge is the cognitive domain. This is the selection or funnelling of relevant encyclopaedic knowledge for a given communication event. If one were to speak of earthquakes, the cognitive domain may be something about natural phenomena, or perhaps traumatic events, or something else relevant to the conversation. The rest of encyclopaedic knowledge can, for that moment, be ignored, such as the knowledge that books are traditionally written with ink and paper, or that unicorns are imaginary creatures. Narrower than the cognitive domain is the concept itself, a combination of profile and base—the thing itself and its necessary background. To speak of an island is to speak of a landmass, but it requires the background information that that landmass is surrounded by water.

Such has been Langacker's major contribution to lexical semantics. His, however, has not been the only cognitive account of word meaning, but we argued here that it provides the greatest possibility for integration into biblical studies, as well as being a compelling account of linguistic meaning. Another theory, Frame Semantics, differs from Cognitive Grammar to a slight degree, and has been adopted by Stephen Sheard. It is also quite descriptive and produces very interesting results and should not be dismissed merely because it employs a different method. Nevertheless, we moved forward with Cognitive Grammar because of its simplicity as well as responsibility with language. Ellen van Wolde has also used Langacker's methods, and does so also with helpful results. However, we argued that her explanation of the method was unnecessarily burdensome and needed some simplification.

Nonetheless, we arrived at a place where we could begin to ask about meaning in the mind of language users. This naturally begged the question of how we could possibly access such information. The answer was that we needed to recreate the world of the language users in order to imagine their encyclopaedic knowledge of their world. For cooking, it meant understanding who did the cooking, how the food was prepared, what were the necessary steps prior to cooking, what kind of food was cooked, etc. To that end we surveyed the literature of daily life in ancient Israelite society. Such studies received a swift

kick from Stager's investigation into the biblical **בֵּית-אֶבֶן** as could be deduced from the archaeology of the so-called four-room house. Since then, studies into average people and their lives have become increasingly prevalent in biblical journals and monograph series. The monumental could not be the sole object of historical and archaeological research, though it retains by far the majority of attention. Nevertheless, the home, the agriculture, the kinship networks and therefore the lifestyle of average people has come to be important, both in its own right and for its contribution to biblical exegesis. This new addition to historical inquiry has inevitably included attention to food and food ways for ancient Israelites. And it is from this extensive new body of literature that we could possibly reconstruct a picture of cooking in the ancient Hebrew-speaking home.

Before reconstructing that picture, we needed to establish a method. We needed to take Langacker's Cognitive Grammar, at least the parts that would pertain to the present study, and apply them to the world of cooking. Therefore, in the methodology chapter, we weighed Cognitive Grammar against various other semantic theories, those from both past and present linguistics. Structuralist arguments were clearly no longer adequate for the task of discovering meaning. They had their place, to be sure, but could not provide a comprehensive picture of meaning. In Cognitive Linguistics, though, many methods have been proposed, and in biblical studies a few of them have been attempted. These we evaluated based on whether or not they presented a responsible picture of meaning, which they generally did, as well as on whether they were generally comprehensible to the average biblical scholar without extensive linguistic training, which they usually were not. That said, van Wolde herself uses Cognitive Grammar, though as I said above, not in a way very accessible for new initiates. It was therefore our purpose to lay out a simplified approach, but one still faithful to Langacker's Cognitive Grammar. For such a simplification, we relied on the work of John Taylor and his description of encyclopaedic knowledge, cognitive domains, bases, and profiles. His was a straightforward and reasonable approach and proved to be very adequate to the task of discussing cooking vocabulary in Biblical Hebrew. Following Taylor, we set a course for the following chapters. First, we would establish, to the degree possible, encyclopaedic knowledge of life and cooking in ancient Israel. Second, we would analyse the language data of Biblical Hebrew and see how it presented domains, bases, and profiles of Hebrew lexemes and the concepts they represent.

Therefore, the following chapter was dedicated to explaining what can be known of the life around food for ancient Israelites. To facilitate easier discussion of such a broad array of material, we divided the chapter into the

following sections: physical context for cooking activities; identity and description of actors; description of food items; identity and description of material culture; and cooking processes. In the physical context, we learned that the majority of cooking was done on the ground floor, which made a great deal of sense. Food was stored in heavy jars and ovens were typically dug into the floor. Also, because weaving and animal care were often performed at the same time as food production, it only makes sense for all these activities to be on the same floor. The upper floor was mostly dedicated to the living quarters of the inhabitants, though sometimes small cooking installations such as hearths could be found there. The identity of actors was unsurprisingly found to be the women of the house. Every generation of women acted to ensure the health and satisfaction of the family, from grinding grain for hours per day to cooking the meat stew for when guests came. However, the lives of these women was more complicated than this, especially because at an early age they would often get married and move into the house of their husband, and then had to deal with the family dynamics of that new household. Also, especially in Iron Age I, the woman most likely lent a hand to the agricultural work as well. In this time, perhaps, labour was divided less by gender and thereby received less of a gendered value. It was probably in the subsequent centuries when men's work came to be considered clearly the more valuable of the two.

In the section regarding food items, we learned that ancient Palestine produced a lot more than milk and honey. A wide array of pulses, grains, vegetables, herbs, spices, fruit, fish, and meat were available, though each came with a different price tag. Of the two most common grains, barley and wheat, the former was considered fit for animals and the latter for humans, at least when times were easier. These grains grew better in the valleys, while olives and grapes were a mainstay of the steep and rugged hill country. As for the actual preparation of food, the main materials used were an array of ceramic pots. Among the most common of these for Israelites in the Iron Age II was the hybrid cooking pot, with a relative wide body and wide aperture, allowing large pieces of food, such as meat, to be cooked inside, as well as easy access to the food during and after cooking. This was a middle-ground between the wide Canaanite-style pot deriving from the Late Bronze period and the cooking jug more common among Philistine peoples on the coast. Naturally, the wider style accommodated even larger food, whereas the cooking jug was amenable to cooking of liquid food items, such as gruel. Ovens were the other main fixture of Israelite cooking. Most commonly these came in the form of a taller *tannur* oven, somewhat conical in shape and resembling a modern tandoori oven. This oven was typically heated from the inside by clean fuel and was versatile in that it allowed space not just for unleavened bread, slapped onto the inside

walls of the oven, but also easily for leavened bread. The smaller counterpart, the *tabun*, was still somewhat versatile, though perhaps less so. Often, it was heated from the outside, with any available fuel (often resulting in dirty smoke and bad smells). Once the fuel burned down enough to scrape away some ash, the bread could be placed inside to bake. And it was in the final section that we learned that bread could take a variety of forms, with different ingredients and different baking methods. The other main food item was stew, and it too was by no means unitary. Meat stews were common when visitors were to be honoured, but vegetable or pulse-based stews were equally possible, especially if the meal were just for the immediate household. For lighter meals, it appears that dried fruit and parched grains were common, or perhaps gruel made with harvested grain. Other meals were undoubtedly possible, such as roast meat, or deep-fried dough, but the archaeological record for these is less clear.

Having established the picture of cooking, we marched onward and considered the linguistic data of the Hebrew Bible. Here we saw each of the verbal cooking lexemes separated and discussed separately. The lexemes themselves were divided into two groups, the common and the uncommon. In the common group we saw the inclusion of the lexeme *עשה*, not because it is a cooking verb in itself, but because it is often used as a generic verb for preparing food in Biblical Hebrew. For each of the lexemes, common or uncommon, we walked through some basic lexical data, including anything helpful from etymology, cognate information, translation into versions, etc. This was, of course, not to be determinate for meaning, but rather simply to take note of anything that might help us in our subsequent analysis. Following this, therefore, was the division of lexemes according to the concepts they represented. We learned, through this process, that the verbs *אפה* and *בשל* seemed to be a pair, where the former is for dry heat cooking and the latter is for liquid cooking. We also saw that some lexemes stood for multiple concepts, one of which may focus on the beginning of a cooking activity, and the other on the end of the activity. That is, there is a difference between baking dough and baking bread. Furthermore, under each concept was arranged the various texts where that concept was demonstrated. At times, there was an occurrence of a lexeme that was difficult to place, and so a short exegesis was necessary. For example, Judges 6.19 described Gideon preparing a kid and baking bread, but covered both of these with one verb—*עשה*. Upon closer examination, it was determined that *עשה*, in one occurrence, was representing two of its possible concepts: [CREATE] and [MAKE X (INTO) Y]. Such is the versatility of language.

The following chapter marked a short pause along the way. While the lexeme chapter was relatively atomistic, divided by structural data such as lexemes, this transition chapter attempted to bring it back to a more cognitive

organization. With this in mind, the concepts were grouped according to their conceptual content. We observed that עשה tended to be related to conceptual content that was more generic than that of אפה and בשל, which was in turn more generic than that of several other cooking lexemes (עוג, זיד, לבב, etc.). We also saw the quality of action grouped, along lines such as creation, or transformation/changing state. We also looked at concepts according to what kind of landmarks they preferred, whether bread products, liquid items, or otherwise. Lastly, by way of drawing us back to the encyclopaedic knowledge found in the backgrounds chapter, the concepts were discussed in terms of what kind of action they conveyed (dry-cooking or liquid-cooking). These activities described could then more accurately be imagined once connected to the lived reality of the ancient people concerned.

The final chapter consisted of scanning the horizon and seeing whether or not we could make a contribution, not only to biblical semantic studies, but to the general field of biblical studies. We therefore set about tackling the exegesis of several texts, ranging from the relatively clear to the fairly opaque. We witnessed Abraham and Sarah madly preparing a meal for their unexpected guests. Unlike the rapid narration of the event, the actions of this ancestral family could not have been performed in any kind of quick way. The whole process likely took hours, at best, as their guests no doubt expected. Gideon likewise receives a visitor whom he does not expect and sets about fulfilling the expectations of a host. His meal, like Abraham and Sarah's, is over the top. Far more food than could possibly have been eaten was prepared, and this at a time of political and agricultural instability. The language used to describe Gideon's cooking (עשה) is of limited description, but because we know what those food items required, we can piece together what was meant here by the words of this text. Following on after Gideon, we moved through the story of death in the pot (preparation of vegetable stew from local and moderately poisonous gourds), and the scorn-ridden poetry directed at the elite of Samaria, who, though seeming to slumber, were actually ready to scorch their king at the opportune moment, and arrived at the two most troubling textual conundrums: Passover, and Amnon and Tamar.

Here we learned that, in all likelihood, there is a discrepancy between the Passover cooking prescriptions in Exodus 12 and Deuteronomy 16. The former prescribes roasting and forbids boiling, whereas the latter prescribes boiling. 2 Chronicles strangely harmonizes the two, but does so in a rather ingenious way—'boiling in fire'. All of this revolves around the conceptual content attached to the lexeme בשל, which, as many throughout history have argued, could simply mean 'cook' or could even be as specific as 'roast' or 'bake'. But throughout history, this argument was founded simply on the assumption that

these texts would not contradict each other. If we do not assume this, but actually question it, then we arrive at the conclusion that *בשל* requires liquid and thus we have a contradiction of sorts.

The passage in 2 Samuel 13 is one that involves a great deal of food language, which itself appears to form a sort of back-bone for the narrative. It features prominently in the four-fold repetition of command-execution in the first half of the chapter. It furthermore draws a connection between Amnon's desire for food and his desire for his half-sister, via the 'heartening food' he requests. But Jonadab and David use different cooking language and thus they stand at a distance from Amnon, yet are nevertheless drawn into this sickening tale. And finally, we observed that since Tamar must have been cooking in sight of Amnon's bed, she must have been upstairs in the living area of the home. Here she would not have been cooking with a large *tannur* oven, but probably with a hearth. This, we concluded, meant that she was not baking, as some commentators and translators have suggested or implied, but that she was indeed cooking in liquid, as the verb *בשל* attests. This verb has posed a persistent problem in the secondary literature, whether here or in Passover texts, or elsewhere. As we have now hopefully demonstrated, there is no need for linguistic laxity with this word. It is not maximally generic for cooking in general, nor does it mean 'roast' or 'bake' in any known occurrence. Rather, it refers to cooking in liquid, plain and simple.

And now we have only to look forward to see what yet may come. It is hoped that the contributions made here will have some impact on biblical studies. While there are a few other such works, it is hoped that this will be more accessible and therefore more useful to a broader audience. Biblical scholarship on semantics needs to be updated. The way that many scholars, to little fault of their own, misuse words and meanings needs to change. We all require something, some tool that we can understand and use appropriately. This study demonstrates one way to do that.

There are rumblings of such shifts in the study of the Hebrew Bible. Stephen Shead's *Radical Frame Semantics and Biblical Hebrew* constitutes one such rumbling. Ellen van Wolde's *Reframing Biblical Studies* and her many articles represent another. An upcoming project, the *Lexham Theological Wordbook* is yet another. This project is setting out to use Frame Semantics and Cognitive Grammar to explain the concepts of the Bible. It differs from Kittel's dictionary in a very important way. Kittel, much to the ire of Barr, listed entries by lexeme and thereby equated lexemes with concepts. This new project, however, begins with concepts, such as love, war, and the like. Here they will explain the backdrop for these concepts in the world of the Bible, and only then move toward seeing how that information plays out in the use of particular biblical lexemes.

It will be interesting to follow its development and its reception in the years to come.

And so we arrive here at the end of this study, having traversed a great deal of terrain, foot-sore from treading so many different paths. Certain of where we were, where we have come, we yet remain uncertain as to what lies ahead of us. Will biblical studies and linguistics draw further apart or find their sundered paths once again reunited? Will the monumental and the menial rightfully join up to chart a common course? We must wait and see. All that is required of us now is to put one foot in front of the other and follow the advice of an experienced and furry-footed traveller:

The Road goes ever on and on
Down from the door where it began.
Now far ahead the Road has gone,
And I must follow, if I can,
Pursuing it with eager feet,
Until it joins some larger way
Where many paths and errands meet.
And whither then? I cannot say.¹

¹ Bilbo in J. R. R. Tolkien, *The Lord of the Rings* (London: HarperCollins, 2005), 35.

Appendix

Figures

- 3.1 The reconstruction of the F7 dwelling at Tell Halif
- 3.2 Reconstruction of a four-room house with hypothetical upper room
- 3.3 Possible reconstructions of domestic dwellings with an upper floor
- 3.4 Another possible reconstruction of a four-room house with activities represented
- 3.5 A traditional Canaanite-style cooking pot from Iron IIB at Tell Halif
- 3.6 A 'hybrid' cooking pot from Iron IIC at Tell Halif
- 3.7 A traditional Canaanite cooking pot (left) compared to a 'hybrid' pot (right) from Iron IIB at Tel Lachish

Photos¹

- 3.1 Judean steppe in winter
- 3.2 A Jordanian man shaking the new milk in the skin of a goat
- 3.3 A young Jordanian boy eating some of the hard cheese
- 3.4 A Jordanian woman preparing to make bread on a *saj*
- 3.5 Baking on the *saj*

¹ All photos courtesy Kurtis Peters.

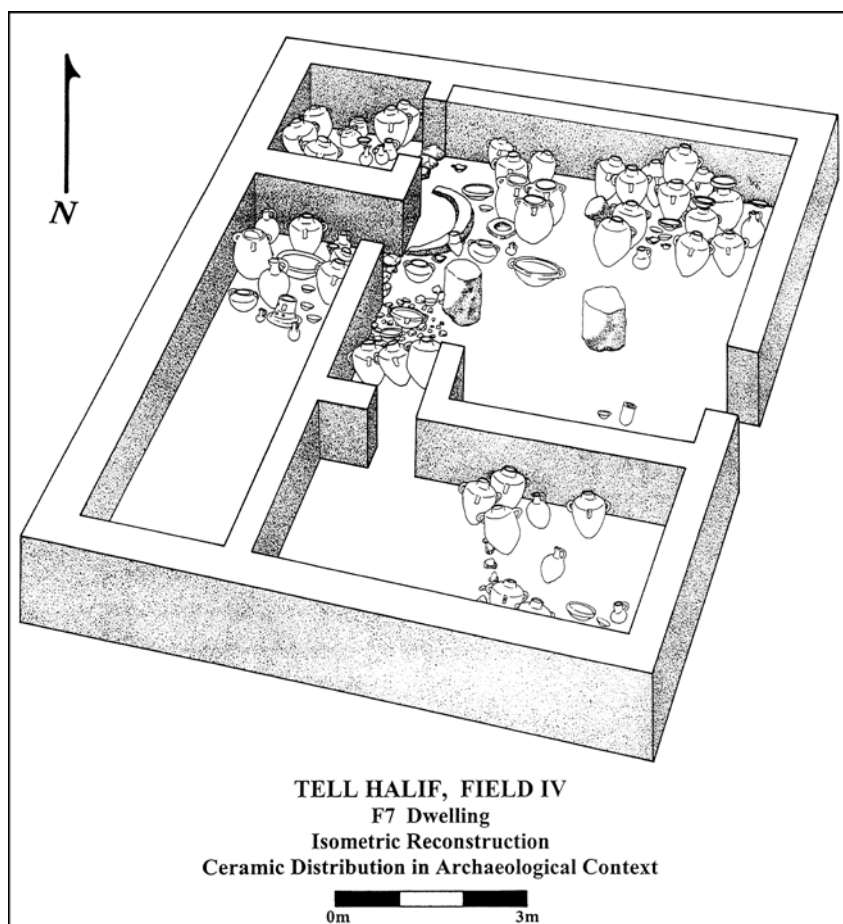


FIGURE 3.1 *The reconstruction of the F7 dwelling at Tell Halif.*
 ILLUSTRATION REPRODUCTION COURTESY OF EISENBRAUNS.²

² Hardin, *Lahav II*, 109.



FIGURE 3.2 *Reconstruction of a four-room house with hypothetical upper room, drawn by Megan Williams.*

REPRODUCTION BY PERMISSION OF OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, USA.³

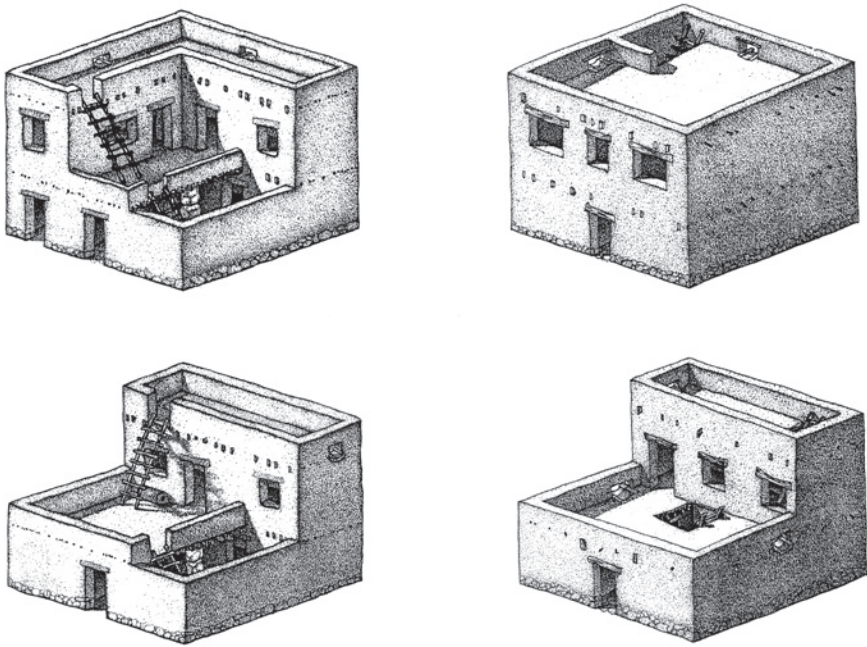


FIGURE 3.3 *Possible reconstructions of domestic dwellings with an upper floor.*

ILLUSTRATION REPRODUCTION COURTESY OF EISENBRAUNS.⁴

3 Holladay, 'Four-Room House', 341.

4 Hardin, *Lahav II*, 52.

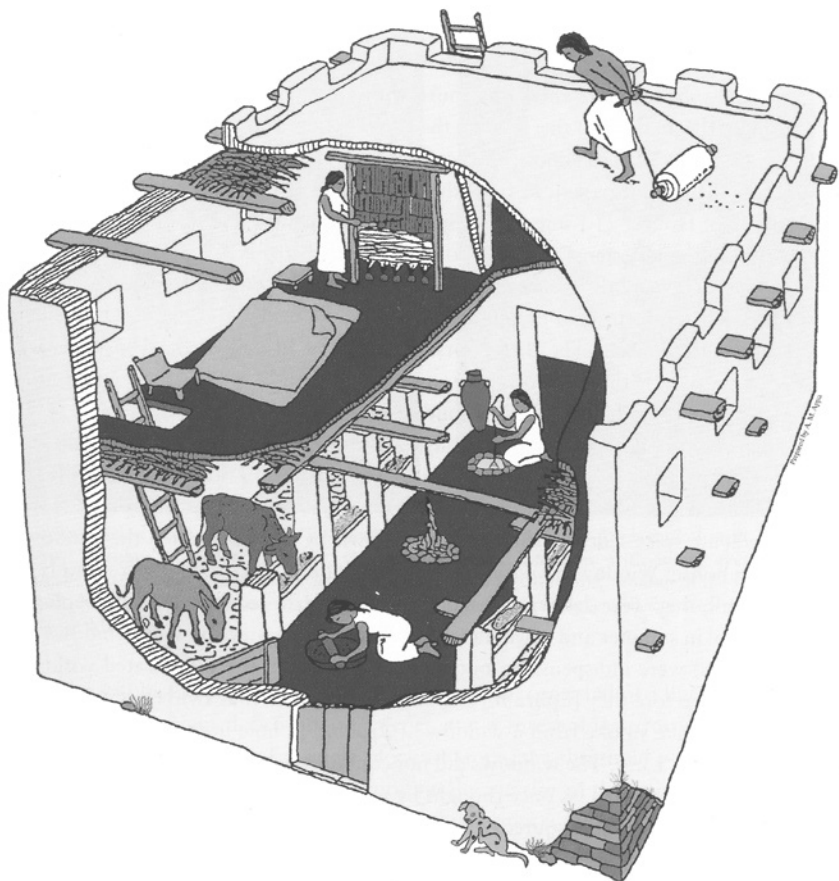


FIGURE 3.4 *Another possible reconstruction of a four-room house with activities represented.*
ILLUSTRATION REPRODUCTION COURTESY OF LAWRENCE STAGER.⁵

⁵ King and Stager, *Life*, 29.

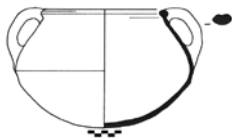


FIGURE 3.5

A traditional Canaanite-style cooking pot from Iron IIB at Tell Halif.

ILLUSTRATION REPRODUCTION COURTESY PAUL F. JACOBS
AND THE LAHAV RESEARCH PROJECT.⁶

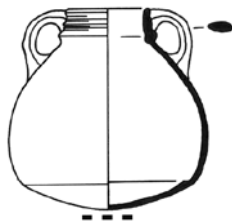


FIGURE 3.6

A 'hybrid' cooking pot from Iron IIC at Tell Halif.

ILLUSTRATION REPRODUCTION COURTESY PAUL F. JACOBS
AND THE LAHAV RESEARCH PROJECT.⁷

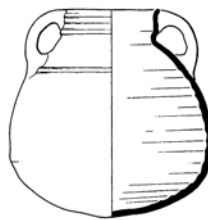
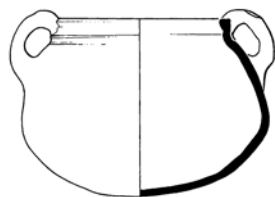


FIGURE 3.7 *A traditional Canaanite cooking pot (left) compared to a 'hybrid' pot (right) from Iron IIB at Tel Lachish.*

ILLUSTRATION REPRODUCTION COURTESY OF ORNA ZIMHONI,
DAVID USSISHKIN, AND THE INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY,
TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY.⁸

⁶ <<http://www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/pottery/html/cooking.htm>>.

⁷ <<http://www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/pottery/html/cooking.htm>>.

⁸ Orna Zimhoni, 'The Pottery of Levels III and II', in *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish (1973–1994)*, ed. David Ussishkin, vol. 4, Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University 22 (Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology, 2004), 1857–1858.



PHOTO 1 *Judean steppe in winter. Taken from Hyrcania—March 2008, standing on north-facing hill (less direct sunlight), looking at south-facing hill (more direct sunlight). Demonstrating that the land east of the central hill country, while exceedingly dry, can support a small amount of vegetation and therefore grazing in the wet season.*

COURTESY OF KURTIS PETERS.



PHOTO 2 *A Jordanian man shaking the new milk in the skin of a goat to make cheese and other dairy products.*
COURTESY OF KURTIS PETERS.



PHOTO 3 *A young Jordanian boy eating some of the hard cheese that had already been made by the above process. It was very salty.*
COURTESY OF KURTIS PETERS.



PHOTO 4 *A Jordanian woman preparing to make bread on a saj.*
COURTESY OF KURTIS PETERS.



PHOTO 5 *Baking on the saj.*
COURTESY OF KURTIS PETERS.

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